DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

"These adverts show that we're not wanted in football"

the role of advertising in understanding the complexity of BSA football inclusion/exclusion

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"*These adverts show that we're not wanted in football*": The Role of Advertising in Understanding the Complexity of BSA Football Inclusion/Exclusion

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PhD

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Certificate of Ethical Approval

Applicant:

Samandeep Chouhan

Project Title:

Conscious v Subconscious cultural Identities in Advertisements – Underrepresentation of British South-Asian's within English Professional football

This is to certify that the above named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

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Glossary

Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic (BAME)

This term is used within the confines of this research over its predecessor – Black or Minority Ethnic (BME). Importantly, it gives the Asian population a platform to be assessed. As Kilvington (2016:8) suggests, "it would be very unusual for anyone of South-Asian descent to identify themselves as being 'black'". Within national rhetoric, BAME is now in use.

South-Asian

This term refers to an individual's residence in the Indian subcontinent, or those that lived there prior to their migration to Britain. Nevertheless, when migrants move to Britain, they acquire British citizenship, and as a result are given a new label.

Anglo-Asian

This term refers to individuals who have one White, English speaking parent and one parent who is of South-Asian descent. Although the term has caused complications, it is a widely adopted phrase in national discourse, hence its applicability in this research.

British South-Asian (BSA)

The terms British South-Asian (BSA) is employed throughout. It refers to an individual that is born in Britain whose both parents are of South-Asian descent. In adopting this term, the researcher is aware that is problematically homogenises a number of diasporic groups under one non-specific label, however there is yet to be a label which provides a clear account of all BSAs.

Non-BSA

The term non-BSA is used to label those who are not of South-Asian descent. It is not limited to the British White Majority, rather inclusive to those who are European, Afro-Caribbean, Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Philippines), Latinos and so forth. Labelling each demographic would prove to be time consuming and limit the emphasis placed on comparing and contrasting perceptions, attitudes and experiences.

'Asians in football movement'

The term refers to the active engagement of people of South-Asian descent irrespective of their individualised labels. In some quarters however, the tagline suggests 'Asians' are problem groups who are 'forcing' inclusion. Subsequently, 'Asians in football movement' has been placed is quotations to signify that the group are not exclusive, rather a problem has been identified and a need to rectify it is in order.

Football Gatekeepers

Football gatekeepers refers to those who make the decisions in football. The term encapsulates scouts, managers and coaches. All those who progress in football, be it through the recreational clubs, football academies, semi-professional or professional, have to be accepted by football gatekeepers. The FA (2015) claim football gatekeepers are the 'figurehead for successful inclusion'.

First (1st) Generation BSA

1st generation BSA refers to the South-Asians who migrated to Britain directly from the Indian Subcontinent to cater for the for workers in factories, foundries and public services, a significant amount arrived on British shores.

Second (2nd) Generation BSA

2nd generation BSA refers to people of South-Asian descent who are children of 1st generation parents. The majority of 2nd generation BSA were either born in their homeland and then migrated at an early age or were born in Britain. This transition proved to be important to their social identity. Importantly, they tend to have strong relationships with their homeland, thus strong cultural identities (Hall, 2002).

Third (3rd) Generation BSA

3rd generation BSA refers to those who were 'born and bred' in Britain. They attend schools, colleges and universities, socialise with others and are beneficiaries of the benefits of being a British citizen. The 3rd generation identity is arguably the strongest in assimilating to British norms, values and ideals.

Sport-related Advertising

Sport-related advertising refers to the use of sport as a ‘corporate marketing tool’ (Pegoraro et al, 2010:1454) in advertisements. Including the practice of sport provides increased flexibility, broad reach, as well as high levels of brand and corporate exposure. Today, more than ever, advertisements are utilising sport to maximise their branding value.

Football-related Advertising

Football-related advertising refers to the advertisements which solely feature football as the ‘corporate marketing tool’. Due to its importance to the British system, football has become to ‘go-to’ tool for targeting audiences, irrespective of footballing-affiliation. Moreover, with the increased TV time of football events, there are more advertising slots available to fill up with advertisers valuing such prime-time space.

List of Abbreviations

BSA(s) – British South-Asians

BWM – British White Majority

BAME – Black, Asian Minority Ethnic

CRT – Critical Race Theory

FA – Football Association

EPL – English Professional League

EFL – English Football League

MCA – Media Content Analysis

MMA – Mixed Martial Arts

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"the last 30 miles of this race is when I realised a human being is not so human anymore. We have the ability to go in such a space, if you're willing to suffer and I mean suffer, your body and your brain connected together can do anything"

David Goggins – Ultra-Marathon Runner

Abstract

There is, and always has been, a vast under-representation of BSAs in English football. Since its inception in 1888, only a select few South-Asian heritage players have managed to acquire professional contracts. Whilst important gains have been made over the last fifteen years, there has been very little change. It is through listening to, and hearing BSA voices, that English football can move closer to accommodating the largest ethnic minority group in Britain. This qualitative research study explored the role advertising (non-)representations have on contemporary BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics, from their perspective, especially as the identity of the BSA is constantly changing, adapting and evolving.

This study combined a Spatiality and Critical Race Theory approach. A database of televised advertisements which feature sport as the principle 'corporate marketing tool' was created to provide context and further rationale for the focus of this study. In order to identify how BSAs respond to advertising (non-)representations, and to analyse its significance to their football inclusion/exclusion, a triangulation research design was employed; (i) **Phase I** had a BSA community-centred focus whereby opinions and experiences of English football was analysed, in addition to perceptions of advertising representations; (ii) **Phase II** identified how non-BSAs interpret the same advertisements, and (iii) **Phase III** explored the experiences of BSAs who currently reside across sport and English football. Research was recorded, transcribed and analysed using the Constructivist Grounded Theory technique, allowing for key themes to emerge and responses to football inclusion/exclusion to be discussed and re-conceptualised.

Findings illustrate three key outcomes: (i) advertising representations play a significant role in informing BSA football inclusion/exclusion, however its level of influence is determined by several socio-cultural and ethno-religious circumstances, (ii) young BSAs are governed by a 'new Asian mentality' which creates a sense of belonging and empowerment, and (iii) inclusion in English football for BSAs is far complex than first imagined. These factors have been synthesised and a conceptual model to evaluate its significance is proposed.

Chapter 1: Introduction

"It's a topic that's been written about every so often for the last twenty years: why aren't there more British Asian footballers? The answer to that question is not a mystery. In fact, it is very straightforward. And all those who can affect change are aware of how it can be fixed".

Murugesu (2019).

1.1: Research Motivation and Initiative

The transitional nature of English football, with a foot in politics, economics and social relations has theatrically changed the landscape of Britain over the last four decades (Goldblatt, 2015; Smith, 2015; Porter, 2019). Britain's deep-rooted cultural relationship with football has created an environment where minority and majority groups can interact, convey opinions and debate circumstances.

Jeffery's (2007) well-articulated assessment of the history of English football explicates how since the inception of the English Premier League (EPL) in particular, a new and superimposed sense of nationhood and appreciation amongst the population has emerged; the arrival of television money combined with investments from international oligarchs has meant English football attracts the best players and thus the best competition (Spacey, 2019).

Other points of reflection relates to English football being a more comfortable environment now than it was fifty years ago (Pearson, 2006), and as a direct result, participation and engagement levels have been exponentially rising ever since (SportEngland, 2018). All valid, up to a point, but without the inheritance of over a hundred years of football culture and the luck needed to become a superpower amongst Britons, the stratospheric ascent of English football would not have been impossible.

These particular cultural and economic changes have produced an extraordinary shift in regards to the place of football in British society, insofar football is now ubiquitous in nature, with its status in popular cultures ever-increasing. According to oft-cited

scholar Goldblatt (2014), four pre-eminent features install such football elitism: (i) the relative size of it compared to similar phenomena – i.e. theatre attendance and soap-opera audiences; (ii) its presence in multi-disciplinary cultures – from music, drama, poetry and film; (iii) the degree in which publicising interests has become the norm for many Britons; and (iv) the fact that political leaders routinely use football as a metaphor to establish positions, directions, arguments and proclamations. Its ability to attract significant numbers of people on a regularised calendar, in addition to creating community and collective moments of ecstasy, attachment and fulfilment, it has somewhat of a religious component to it (Grovier, 2018). Perhaps Nair's (2018) explanation best describes this phenomenon:

> "*But seriously, we're increasingly deserting the church, mosques, temple or synagogue in favour of the pitch. Players are revered like Gods, the stands are the pews; football is the new religion*".

Ultimately, English football is thought of as a catalyst of integration, inclusion, acceptance and agents of change (O'Gorman & Rookwood, 2016), where "it is so genuinely multicultural that if one were to design a sport to reflect accurately the ethnic diversity of the world, it would resemble football" (Cashmore & Cleland, 2014:1). However, over the past three decades, there has been a breakthrough in articulating both the aspirations and frustrations of a particular community which are seemingly being 'alienated' in Britain's beloved pastime. The fact that British South-Asians (referred to as BSAs from now on) have yet to formulate a presence in English football is surprising, and to a certain extent, problematic. The problem itself continues to be highlighted and disputed in football discourse, documented recently in mainstream news (i.e. Badshah, 2019; Woolford, 2019; Smith, 2019) and even recognised in parliamentary debates (i.e. SportingEquals, 2014). Although the problem has been highlighted, there is yet to be a substantial change in circumstances which thus enables the BSA community to penetrate and progress within the confines of English football.

The discovery of the community's omission was first introduced by Bains & Patel (1996), in a book ironically titled *Asians Can't Play Football*, which estimated (at the time of writing) that only 0.2% of professional players employed at football clubs in England were of South-Asian descent. A report hatched by the *Asians in Football Forum* (2005), further exemplified this perceived exclusion, explicating that only 0.8% of players were (at the time of writing) tied to youth contracts at club academies. As of 2016, only 10 BSA professionals, out of a possible 3000 have secured professional status (Kilvington, 2016), despite there being a BSA population of over 3.6 million in England and Wales alone (Census, 2011). With BSAs making up 7% of the British population, whilst simultaneously being classed as Britain's largest ethnic group (Census, 2011), there is an evident imbalance and subsequent injustice in a domain which is widely epitomised as a reflection of the 'good' associated in Britain (Kuper, 1994; Back et al, 2001; Goldblatt, 2014).

Despite the growth in sociological literature, and the significant body of work in race-relations, there is a paucity of research in the area of football inclusion/exclusion, and in particular, the role of media representations to BSA football inclusion/exclusion. Although the oft-cited work of Burdsey & colleagues (2004a; 2004b; 2007a; 2007b; 2009; 2012), Kilvington and colleagues, (2012; 2016; 2017a; 2017b; 2017c) and Ratna (2007; 2008; 2011; 2014) have proven to be fundamental as they sought to establish the impact of race, identity and gender to BSA football dynamics and dynamisms, no attempt has been made to identify the role of advertising representations to such an injustice.

Pollay (1986) appraised the role of advertising in shaping realities and discovered that representations have a significant influence in shaping the way we think, act and understand. Other key scholars (i.e. Olivotti, 2014; Bartholomew, 2010; Saren et al, 2019) specify how advertisements are idealistic in nature as they are one of a few mediums in contemporary practice which impact self-definition and collective identification. Combined, the authors argue that when evaluating social injustices, advertising needs to be considered as a key component to manifestations. The depth and breadth of research on advertising's influence to consumption (a prerequisite to inclusion/exclusion) has been assessed across multiple disciplines (i.e. fashion, beauty and sport etc.) and identity markers (i.e. body image, (dis)ability, race and ethnicity etc.). This illustrates both the significance and influence of advertising to social

relations and the need for the research problem at hand to evaluate advertising representations.

2018 in particular saw a phenomenon arise: the BSA population acknowledged the non-representations of their people in football-related advertisements. For example, the Nike 'Nothing Beats a Londoner' advertisements, in all its brilliance, divided the community simply because the three-minute clip, which superficially celebrates the capital's multiculturalism and integrative nature, failed to represent any BSAs (Bakar, 2018) – the largest ethnic minority group in the capital at 18.4% (Census, 2011). Ultimately, there is now a public demand for evaluation and change. Figure 1 demonstrates an example of the public apprehensions in regards to the non-representations of BSAs in football-related advertising.

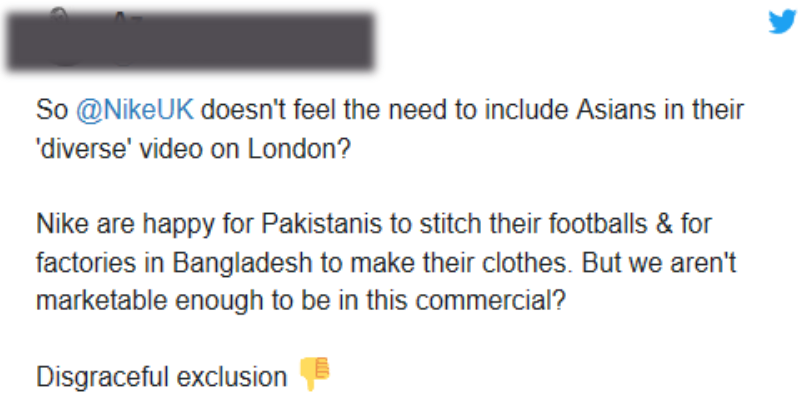


Figure 1 – Social media comment concerning lack of BSAs in Nike football advertisement

A reality thus exists which refers to viewers making sense of visual images in a number of ways, many of which are automatic and without awareness (Schroeder & Borgerson, 2005). The popular belief is thus: visual images reinforce notions of acceptance and/or rejection, and have the ability to create narratives which extends to particular ideas, assumptions, traditions and expectations (Hayko, 2010; Johnson & Grier, 2012; Dimofte et al, 2015). When discussing English football in particular, and

all the social complexities which go alongside it, advertising, has in recent years, popped up as a mechanism which represents inclusion/exclusion dynamics.

In recent times, English football has proven to be an inhospitable climate for 'foreigners' (Jarvie, 2003; Burdsey, 2012). Such are the ambiguities of race, identity, masculinity and belonging, there has been a number of prominent incidents which have proven to harm inter-community relations and the popularity of the sport in the mainstream. Notions of ethnic Englishness or Britishness tied exclusively to frames of 'Whiteness' seem with each passing season, ever more prominent. Most notably, the 2018/19 season saw attacks on Jewish, black and BSA individuals and communities, with Manchester City and England star Raheem Sterling outright blaming the media for their influence on creating such harmful rhetoric (Fifield, 2018). Subsequently, observing the state of race relations is not just the preserve for sociologists, rather it has gained national notoriety across the mainstream.

Advertising, in particular, appears to be a tool deemed useful in educating and informing the public of issues they may not be all too familiar with. For instance, with anti-Semitism rhetoric existing within a minority of Chelsea FC fandom (Eccleshare, 2018; TheGuardian, 2019), the club, in 2018, launched an anti-Semitism advertising campaign to specifically raise awareness of the Holocaust and subsequent discrimination people of Jewish heritage face across Britain, under the slogan '*We Remember'* (Sherwood, 2019). The campaign itself runs in conjunction with the World Jewish Congress and explicitly demonstrates the usefulness of advertising in envisioning change, creating conversation, forming understandings and appreciations.

The focus of this research study provides an excellent opportunity for the researcher to make clear contributions to academic and management practices and processes of inclusion/exclusion dynamics. Firstly, by analysing responses of three different stakeholders, a conceptual model which deciphers the influence of advertising to BSA football inclusion/exclusion is developed, and further, by evaluating wider contemporary factors of English football, the proposed model brings forth key facilitators and barriers which harm/aid BSA football inclusion. Secondly, by combining advertising and football – an under-developed research area, this study identifies how the inclusion/exclusion dynamics of English football is framed through formalities of intersectionality insofar, highlighting that conceptions cannot simply be

made through a race-based lens. Thirdly, by beginning to understand the implications and influences of advertising on inclusion/exclusion, the researcher demonstrates, concurrently, the theoretical and managerial implications of incorporating more closely considerations of advertising (non-)representations with football inclusion/exclusion research, management frameworks and policy development. This is of paramount importance to the researcher due to the embedded interest in improving inclusion in sport, and in particular English football for minority groups.

1.2: Research Aim and Objectives

The overall aim of this research is to explore the role of advertising (non-)representations to BSA spatial experience of inclusion/exclusion in the context of English football.

The objectives are:

- To analyse and synthesise social sciences and consumer research streams of literatures in order to gain in-depth insight into the relationship between cultural identity issues in football consumption, cultural representation as related to football and social inclusion/exclusion
- To identify key stakeholders and develop a rigorous in-depth qualitative methodology to collect information and undertake analysis
- To examine and contextualise the perceptions, attitudes, experiences and opinions of key stakeholders with respect to the role of advertising representations have to football inclusion/exclusion dynamics
- To develop a conceptual framework integrating Critical Race and Spatiality Theories which captures and situates the role of advertising representations with regards to football inclusion/exclusion dynamics, alongside other factors
- To summarise key barriers and facilitators, offer distinctive contributions to managerial and academic discourse and identify pertinent avenues for future research

1.3: Structure of Thesis

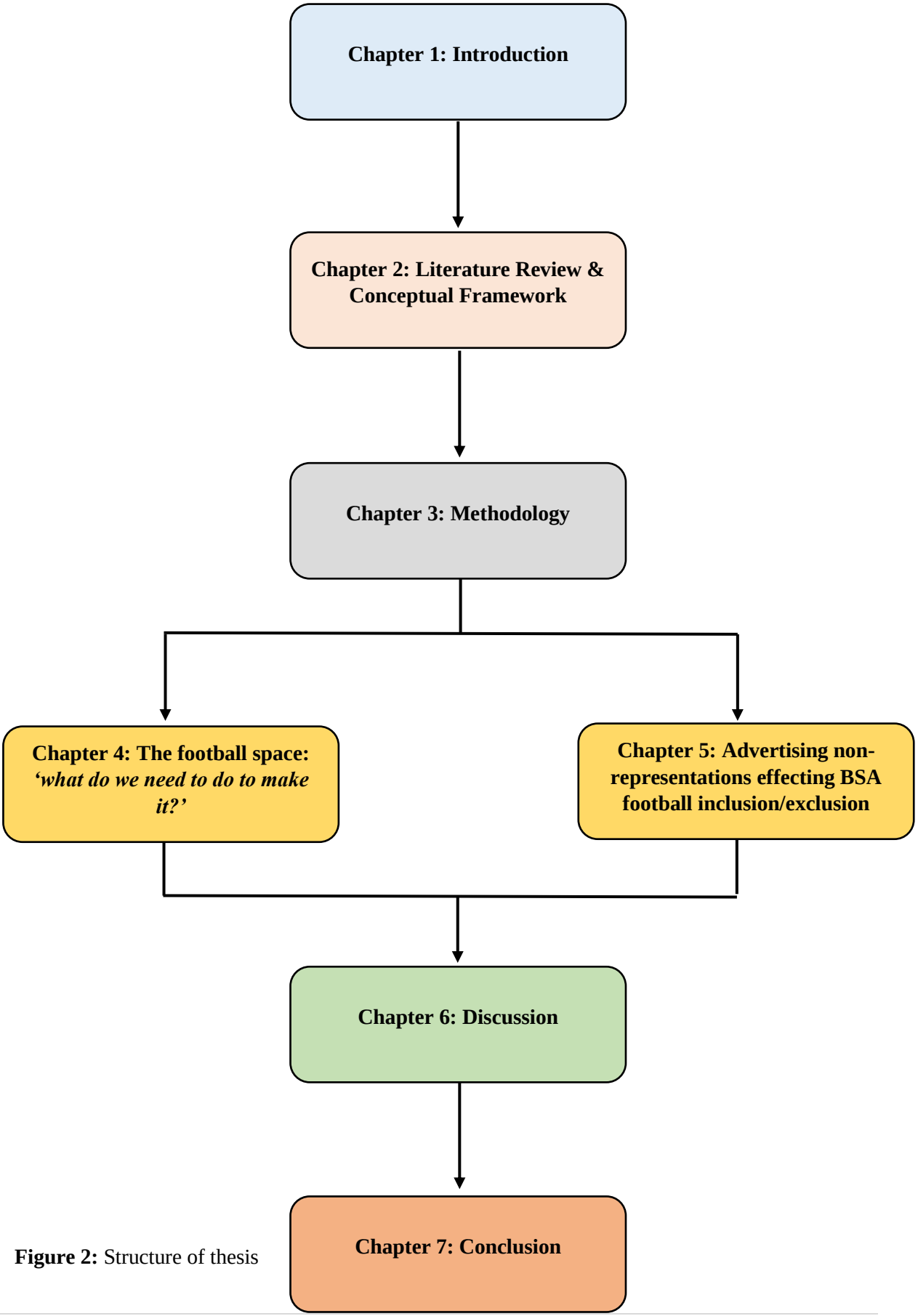


Figure 2: Structure of thesis

Chapter 2: Review of Literature and Conceptual Framework

2.1: Introduction

The focus of this study is on the influence of advertising (non-)representations to BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics. More specifically, as detailed in Chapter 1, it aims to explore the role of advertising (non-)representations in BSAs spatial experience of inclusion/exclusion in the context of English football.

The purpose of this chapter is therefore to: 1) provide a rigorous review of the importance and significance of football in British identity rhetoric; 2) illustrate BSA social processes in relation to identity, citizenship, diaspora, cultural hybridity and sport; 3) demonstrate the existence and importance of 'race' relations in football discourse; 4) illustrate the influence and impact of advertising representations to the 'self', and 5) develop a conceptual understanding of the research problem which will simultaneously: (i) informs research approach, design and methods and (ii) highlight the research gap. Subsequently, Chapter 2 addresses Research Objective 1.

2.2: Beyond national game: importance of football to Britons

"What has made football so uniquely effective a medium for inculcating national feelings is the ease with which even the least political or public individuals can identify with the nation as symbolised by young person's excelling at what practically every man wants, or at one time in his life has wanted, to be good at. The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people" (Hobsbawn, 1990:142).

Scholars have called sport a global phenomenon (Rowe, 2011; Gratton et al, 2012; Goldblatt, 2014; Chadwick et al, 2015). Giulianotti et al (1994) suggest sport is one a few structures which has the ability to permeate and influence people's lives in ways which make it powerful, prevailing and all-encompassing. In Britain specifically, its power and reach is elucidated in Jarvie's (2006:2) explanation: "it is impossible to fully understand contemporary society and culture without acknowledging the place of sport".

The following two subsections detail the significance of football in Britain, in addition to evaluating its transportation to the Indian subcontinent. Specifically, section 2.2.1 establishes the meaning and relevance of football in Britain, taking into account how it is substantiated as a British identity marker. Section 2.2.2 reviews the idiosyncratic nature in which football was 'transported' to the Indian subcontinent during colonial rule, inasmuch, it has meaning to 'Indians' was rooted centuries ago.

2.2.1: Football as an 'identity marker'

In deriving meanings and relevance of football in Britain, Paugam (2018) frames it as an important marker of the British identity. According to Kiely et al (2001:35), an identity marker reflects "any characteristics associated with an individual or collective that they might choose to present to others". Others (e.g. Hermans, 2001; Watzlawik, 2012) define it by the culture and community within a specific social structure. Subsequently, identity markers can be likened to differentiating fragments which define groups of people (i.e. a country/state known to be proficient at a service, skill or product) which distinguishes them from others (Antonsich, 2005). There are many examples of state identity markers which illustrate differentiating, and in most cases, successful prominence to global audiences: how the Germans are perceived to be efficient and effective in the automobile industry (Pines, 2017), how the Japanese are considered as leading innovators in the technology markets (Fingleton, 2015), and how the French are perceived to be excellent food and drink connoisseurs (Chazan, 2018). Antonsich (2005) postulates how recognised identity markers are important to: (i) how a collective operates, (ii) how it is categorised by others, and for (ii) its sustainability and future growth.

Nandi & Platt (2014) articulate how Britain is known for its superior education system, economic sensibilities and its excellent health and service sectors. However, other markers of identity include its rich colonial history (Levine, 2007; Ferguson, 2009; Darwin, 2013; Jackson, 2013; Tharoor, 2016), it's stance on multiculturalism (McCrone, 2002; Amin, 2002; BBC, 2011), its commitment to aid and relief support (Morris, 2017; Mordaunt, 2018), its tolerance of people (TheGuardian, 2018), its liberal manifesto (Eisenberg & Spinner-Haley, 2005), its democratic processes (Parry

et al, 1992; Pattie et al, 2004; Goodfellow, 2018) and the substantiated influence of sport, and in particular, football (Williams, 1997; Brown, 1998; Burdsey, 2004b; Gibbons, 2014; Goldblatt, 2014). Douglas (2010) argues the latter because of its "collective provincialism, sectarianism and nationalism of its supporters". Consequently, a multitude of scholars have continually referenced football as a 'by-product' or 'microcosm' of society (e.g. Hughson & Poulton, 2008; Hylton, 2009; Douglas, 2010; Smith & Hattery, 2011; Griggs, 2012; Campbell, 2014; Gibbons, 2015), which not only receives norms, ideals and values, but also offers them (Morrow, 2003; Conn, 2010; Giulianotti, 2012; Goldblatt, 2014).

Favourable evaluations of football in Britain demonstrates its functionality and influential characteristics. Carrington & McDonald's (2001) reference to football as a 'national treasure' in Britain is useful in understanding how it infiltrates and influences one's psyche and actions (Crolley & Hand, 2002). Perhaps the most important factor to consider in contemporary times is the fact that its popularity amongst the nation's diverse communities is ever-increasing (Campbell, 2014; FA, 2015).

Psychologists of the 'European' brand of football argue the sport surpasses many other social institutions because of its ability to instantaneously engage one's emotions, covering a range of both the 'unpleasant' and the 'pleasant' (Biascaia et al, 2012:229). Dionisio et al (2008) discovered how its impact on Britons is so unique, when it is questioned or probed for its integrity and worth, it parallels that of religious, racial and gender debates. Such an extensible way of thinking is demonstrated in the following quote from iconic British footballer and manager Bill Shankly in which he describes this unique emotional and socio-cultural attachment to football:

"*Some people believe football is a matter of life and death. I'm very disappointed with that attitude. I can assure you it is much, much more important than that*".

Bill Shankly (May 1981)

Another facet to consider belongs in its ability to incubate, and to a certain extent, transcend political debates and discourse (Bradbury & Williams, 2006; Goldblatt, 2014). Sheldon (2015) and McDonald (2017) both explicate football's effects on manifestations of identity (i.e. personal or collective), in addition to influencing dynamics of inclusion/exclusion amongst majority and minority groups. It also has the ability to keep Britain in a romantic association with its individual and collective past (Lusby, 2017), provokes creativity and development (Gallardo et al, 2009), and offers community entitlement, settlement and empowerment (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 1999; Robertson, 2001).

Kilvington (2016) notes how English football is believed to have now transcended socio-cultural differences between majority and minority communities. For example, 2014 saw the England Women national team sell more tickets at Wembley Stadium than their male counterparts (The Guardian, 2014). Moreover, a study conducted by the BBC (2014) shows that there were 61 different nationalities competing in the English Premier League (EPL) during the 2013/14 season. Robinson (2008:226) argues that English football has "become a symbol of multicultural Britain that illustrates harmony, integration and mixing", and is glued to the philosophical projections of what Britons want to promote to other nations (Inthorn, 2014). From a structural functionalism perspective therefore, football benefits society as it "brings communities together; it initiates and solidifies community cohesion" (Kilvington, 2016:1). Thus, it not only endorses a sense of devoted pride and attachment of oneself, functionalists argue it has the capability to initiate inter-community relations (Scraton et al, 2005; Cleland & Cashmore, 2014; Georgakis, 2014).

Giulianotti & Robertson (2004:547) claim that the reliance on football by many rests primarily on the "relationship between the *universal* and the *particular*". The authors accentuate how any 'particular' experience, identity or social process can be acknowledged and processed by its relationship to 'universal' phenomena. That is, for Britain specifically, the importance of football orientates around its relevance and impact of multiple socio-cultural, religious and socio-historical spheres (Russell, 2016), or the role of football to 'everyday life' (Goldblatt, 2014) – a phenomena that sees football debated in an array of social spaces (i.e. pubs, schools, offices, parks, gyms, community centres, barbers, hairdressers, restaurants, cafes). Such is the expressive nature of football in Britain, it is defined through a process of

"commemorative ritualization which is described as, not a discrete or isolable socio-cultural 'event', but rather an extension of the everyday" (Stone, 2007:171). Through a combination of conceptions, outlooks and perceptions about everyday life, football:

"Extends into people's homes, work-places and many spaces in between, connecting supporters within and across spatial boundaries to one another, to the products images and discursive renderings of football culture and to collective memories of embodied experiences across space and time".

(Stone, 2007:181).

The extent to which the formalities of English football have crossed over space and time can be referenced in its exposure to the South-Asian subcontinent during colonial rule (Sen, 2015). The next section explores how football was first introduced to South-Asians and its use to popularise race relations.

2.2.2: Football, and its historical relevance to BSAs

"One of the most striking facts about social life in late-colonial Bengal was the growth, adoption and popularisation of association football. A growing number of people played, watched and read about football. It may be said to have introduced a new and unique means of 'cultural self-expression' into society by the first decade of the last century" (Bandyopadhyay, 2003:1).

Several scholars (e.g. Odendaal, 1990; Stoddart, 2006; Hutchinson, 2009) have argued that due to its systematic attraction and ease of transportation, sport became a popular pastime for many 'foreign' countries during colonial rule. According to Kilvington, (2016:14), "two of the most popular British cultural exports to be deployed to colonial India by the East India Company were that of cricket and football". Mills (2012) suggests that sport was utilised by the British as an important means of 'Anglicising' the indigenous rulers and showcasing superiority and honourableness. The 'activities' as per se were there to mentally and physically

discipline the ‘weak’ and inferior physical frame of South-Asians (Sen, 2015). Prominent historians Paxman (2012) and Tharoor (2012) note how British colonisers saw sport as a tool to improve South-Asian peoples’ physicality, morality, culture and overall way of living without harming international allegiances – especially as the Indian subcontinent were loyal to the British crown in times of war. However, Bandyopadhyay (2003:7) claims “while some British took the game to the locals, many others organised it so as to exclude them”. This rendition is seen in the 1898 First Division Football League in India whereby indigenous players and teams were violently excluded.

The ‘inauguration’ of football to South-Asians moves beyond coloniser-colonised introductions. Two prominent themes are identified: (i) the idea that football is limited to the British islands and those willing to succeed need to be bred through British lines can be debunked as football is not a ‘new’ pastime for BSAs as it was introduced and embraced across South-Asia as far back as the nineteenth century (Kilvington, 2016:14-15), and that (ii) football was used as a ‘cultural weapon’ in South-Asia to compete against and defeat the British (Majumdar & Bandyopadhyay, 2005:160). In retrospect, football induced a cultural unity amongst the South-Asian populous, in addition to giving them a platform to display intense patriotism and love of their homeland(s).

The introduction of football also proved useful for gender relations. In a time where social norms were drawn from class, customs, hierarchy and dominance (see Mukerjee, 1937), many females were forbade from participating and engaging in ‘masculine’ pastimes (Ashitha, 2012:160). Thus, introductions of football proved to be effective in allowing Indian females to compete against each other without having to justify actions (Bandyopadhyay, 2003). Subsequently, football proved crucial to Indian self-expression, improved lived-experiences and perceived equality (Gilmore, 2018).

Kapadia (2001:17) points out that during the 1880’s in the Indian subcontinent, football was the sport of choice, of which “competitions still exist that have been contested ever since that period”. The ‘easiness’ of being able to play football meant one did not need to be affluent or wealthy, hence its popularity in neighbourhoods and districts which were recognised as slums (McNeely, 2012; Sen, 2015). This is yet

another illustration that football is not 'alien' to the South-Asian hemisphere and its inhabitants (Kilvington, 2016).

Football was so popular in India during colonial rule, geographical locations of teams, leagues and cup competitions proved to be pivotal. Bandyopadhyay (2003:3) specifies that football clubs were created mainly around the province of Calcutta, adding to the already vibrant 'Bengali sociocultural life', and by the early 1900's, "football sank deep into the remoter parts of Bengal", penetrating socio-cultural traditions. Kilvington (2016:15) points out that although racial segregation existed on the field, there were accounts of British and Bengali comradery, with barefoot Bengali teams defeating British military teams who were fully stocked with the 'correct' footballing attire. For instance, 'Sovabazar' beat 'East Surrey's Military Regiment' in the 1892 'Trades Cup' (Majumdar, 2013:117). According to Bandyopadhyay (2003:5), victory for the Bengali community over their British colonisers had wider cultural implications than a simple football match, inasmuch Bengali youth "perceived football as a worthwhile cultural weapon to reassert their hurt self-esteem and injured masculinity".

The image of the colonised outwitting the colonisers on the football field gained national notoriety. For example, when the 'Bengali Indian' team defeated to the British military's 'East Yorkshire Regiment' in the final of the 1911 'Shields' competition in front of an estimated 100,000 spectators (Dimeo, 2001; Johal, 2001), the media latched onto its significance. Consequently, this was the first known account of how the stereotype of South-Asians being 'weak' and 'inferior' was exposed, and in true footballing earnest, the media announced 'Indians' as formidable sporting opponents. 'The Nayak', a Bengali newspaper wrote:

"*Indians can hold their own against Englishmen in every walk of art and science… It fills every Indian with joy and pride to know that rice-eating, malaria-ridden, barefooted Bengalis have got the better of beef-eating, Herculean, booted John Bull in the peculiarly of English sport*"

(Cited in Kilvington, 2016:15).

Such example highlights the enigma of how football was one of only a few enterprises which gave South-Asians the ‘upper-hand’ over their British colonisers. This difference in South-Asian presentation amongst the media and their ‘learned behaviours’ in being the oppressed meant football was a platform to showcase their physical, mental and cultural endurance (Sen, 2015), whilst simultaneously demonstrating their willingness to adopt, to an extent, a ‘foreign’ identity marker (Tharoor, 2017).

In sum, historians and social scientists alike explicate how colonial rule was pivotal in the development of sport, and in particular football awareness across the Indian subcontinent. Such perspectives into South-Asian discourse highlights two important points: (i) football has the power to change mind-sets, challenge societal positions and symbolise nationalist resistance, and the fact that (ii) football is not a new cultural practice among South-Asian diasporas. Yet, multiple points of research (e.g. McGuire et al, 2001; Carrington & McDonald, 2001; Burdsey, 2007a; Ratna, 2014; Fletcher, 2014) suggest otherwise, with the BSA identity and citizenship continuously being probed and questioned in regards to their ability to participate and engage in a sport where action and inaction relies on one’s identity.

Section 2.3 reviews literature associated with the BSA identity, citizenship, diaspora and sport.

2.3: BSA identity, citizenship, diaspora and sport

"I have always thought it extremely paradoxical to speak of the need to 'integrate' people who have been an integral part of the social structure of our country for one, two or even three generations. The question is how to confront or to minimise particular conflicts but not how to integrate those who are already inside social structures" (Balibar, 1991:82).

Section 2 highlighted the significance of football to both the British and the Indian subcontinent. This section reviews processes of identity contestation, citizenship, diaspora and sport in relation to South-Asians securing a home in post-war Britain and the manifestations of national identity and its importance to sporting allegiances.

2.3.1: Migration and securing a 'home' in Britain

The concept of 'home' in regards to ethnic minority settlement is most researched and debated in the migration and social sciences literature. Despres's (1991:98) seminal work suggests the concept of 'home' surpasses the physical stature of a building or apartment, rather it expresses a "reflection of one's ideals and values". Similarly, Mallet (2004:78) posits 'home' as a realm where socio-cultural and historical lineages can be explored and assessed, inasmuch it is now reified in contemporary discourse that 'home' is a symbol of acknowledgement and understanding of homeland(s) and country of residence.

Several researchers in cross-cultural migration, sociology and psychology argue that the commercial intercourse between the South-Asian subcontinent and Britain did not end at Britain's exist in 1947 – year proved to be pivotal in geo-political and religious relations as it was divided into two separate states appropriated by majority Sikhs and Hindus (India) and Muslims (East and West Pakistan) (Khan, 2008; Ansari, 2017). Rather, during the early 1950's and 1960's, rapid and sizable migrations of South-Asian people to British shores took place - search for employment and economic prosperity the main incentive for the majority (Ballard, 1987; Peach, 1991; Pooley & Turnbull, 1998; Hall, 2002). An intensive turnover of ethnic people and communities saw residents of White, working-class districts soon find themselves living and working alongside South-Asian neighbours and colleagues (Dahya, 1974; Hall, 2002;

Peach, 2006; Werbner, 2015), with an influx of different religions and cultural institutions; including cultural consumption traditions (i.e. types of food, clothing and religious practices) altering the sights, sounds and smells of local, predominately urban landscapes (Dahya, 1974; Burdsey, 2007a). Subsequently, the identity of the South-Asian was becoming a constant viewing throughout Britain, with the celebrations of 'cultural hybridity' beginning to erupt (Hall, 2002; Jaspal, 2015).

Migration literature explains BSA diasporic developments through 'push-pull' processes (Ratcliffe, 2004:44), whereby a shortage of labour is filled by migrants who move because of the promise of 'relatively' well-paid work - hence, labour is 'pulled' whilst high levels of subcontinent unemployment, corruption and low standards of living are construed as 'push' factors. Prominent social scientists Dahya (1974) and Anwar (1998) argue that the South-Asian migration was split into two segments: (i) workers were pulled due to economic reasons, and (ii) 'chain migration' saw settled male migrants bring their families for a more secure lifestyle. Formally speaking, the "industrialisation and economic growth" (Pilkington, 2003:31) proved to be too attractive to dismiss for many subcontinent hopefuls.

According to Tololyan (2012), any form of intended migration and citizenship fits into 'dispersion' or 'diaspora' categories – the former is the more general and inclusive term, whereas the latter is applied to groups who have experienced "voluntary or forced migration" (Drissel, 2011:202). Though the term diaspora was first applied to the Jewish dispersals from Palestine over two thousand years ago, it has since expanded to include other ethno-national communities (Sheffer, 1994). Well-known diaspora developments include Greek, German, African and South-Asian transitions to new surroundings (Drissel, 2011). The 'desi' diaspora (Kim, 2012:557), a phrase "commonly used to describe South-Asian diasporic cultural forms and practices", can be traced back over 300 years where small sections of South-Asian communities found themselves being 'used' on British land for their ability to solve problems and their loyalty to the Western world. However, their 'stay' was grounded upon the 'agreement' that they would go back 'home' once work was completed (Kim, 2012). Nevertheless, by the late 1960's, Britain was home to over 40,000 registered people of South-Asian descent; including, but not limited to: soldiers, scholars, businessmen and political diplomats, in addition to labourers and service professionals (Ratcliffe, 2004).

Such processes had considerable implications to migration and settlement responses with the idea of 'home', 'race', 'nation' and 'culture' all beginning to change and adapt not only to the physical structures of Britain, but also the ideological methods it enveloped. For Balibar (1991:43), it created an "interiorization of the exterior" whereby shifts in ethno-cultural identities meant 'home' for many (Britons before migration) was being 'changed' to accommodate the hyper-religious 'Other' (Said, 1985). In essence, modes of *external* racisms which characterised South-Asian people in times of colonial oppression were now being *internalised* and re-appropriated to the same groups, but now on the doorsteps of the oppressors (Gilroy, 2006).

Hall (2002) argues that the main reason for such a resistance to South-Asians forming a 'home' in Britain is composed of the 'threats' they bring to the hyper-masculine, White dominated and Christian landscapes. Such threats included: (i) Britain's social composition, or the 'racial status quo', (ii) job opportunities as it was common belief that South-Asians were willing to accept shifts and jobs nominally rejected by White workers, and the fact that (iii) they were willing to share houses and living quarters. Whilst forming a 'home' was apparent, Pearson (1976) demonstrates how a 'Paki-bashing' initiative was developed in a north-east Lancashire cotton town during the mid-1970s which, as a result of primitive sexual incidents between South-Asian males and White English women, concluded in the 'bashing' of South-Asian males. The author also made the unsubstantiated claim that those leading the initiative were, at the time, viewed as 'folk heroes': "the misdirected heroism of the Paki-basher" (Pearson, 1976:80). Subsequently, the anxieties in having to accommodate 'their' different religions and the social practices which come with them were, according to Allen (2002) not conducive to a modern, westernised, Christian Britain.

2.3.1.1: Developing a 'siege mentality'

Burdsey (2007a:83) postulates how a 'siege mentality' was developed as a reaction to South-Asian settlements where within White majority cohorts, it was believed "their community was being ignored, under-sourced or discriminated against and, as a result, that their way of life was under threat". Hewitt (2005) explains how such a heightened sense of insecurity expanded across politics, housing, education and

labour markets, in that it was perceived White community voices were being ostracised and avoided, with acts of multiculturalism subsequently preferred. Such 'siege mentality' posits itself in then-MP Norman Tebbit's depiction of a Britain which is at war with the invasion of change bought on by South-Asians:

"…but in recent years out sense of insularity and nationality has been bruised by large waves of immigrant resistant to absorption, some defiantly claiming a right to superimpose their culture, even their law, upon the host community"

(Cited in Malik, 1996:35).

According to Malik (1996), Tebbit's words expressed a formidable account of the racialized tensions which existed between ethnic minority and British majority populations. In more abstract terms, it was apparent that 'Englishness' was being threatened by a superimposed and ethnically diverse 'Britishness' (Parekh, 2000). The former constructed around the celebration of 'racial purity' and the utopian neighbourhoods' exclusive to white communities (Hall, 2002:40). The perception is thus that 'Britishness' incubates ethnic diversity, whereas "to be English I always have this feeling you have to be white" (Eade, 1994:389). 'Britishness' however, offers cultural pluralism and evokes a 'new' and 'improved' sense of peoplehood, collectives and inter-community relations (Uberoi & Modood, 2013:34), or as Soysal (1994:12) refers to as a 'post-national' membership whereby "national citizenship is no longer the main determinant of individual rights and privileges", for "these rights are now codified in a different scheme, one that emphasises universal personhood rather than nationality".

Section 2.3.1 has pointed out three key factors which have proved to be pivotal in contemporary relations for BSAs: (i) mass migrations meant many South-Asian communities were now living, and from an economic perspective, prospering on British shores; (ii) however, their citizenship was not granted, rather it was the norm to oppose 'others' as (iii) White Britons developed a 'siege mentality' which was propagated by political rhetoric. Section 2.3.2 reviews literature on culture and the notion of hybridity.

2.3.2: Culture and the notion of Hybridity

Migrant identity, culture, diaspora and belonging are oftentimes complex and multifaceted (Hall, 1990; Bridge & Fedorowich, 2003; Modood, 2007; Bhatia & Ram, 2008; Bhabha, 2015; Werbner, 2015). One way to unpick such complex manifestations is to delve deeper into hybridity and in particular, how dominant cultures impact the culture of migrants (Bhabha, 1994; 2015). According to Herminingrum (2017:1), hybridity "arises from two or more different cultures that blend together to form a new one". In post-colonial perspectives (i.e. Bhabha, 1994; 2004; 2015), hybridity is foregrounded in cultural mixing, syncretism and integration – considered the 'third-space' in regards to the creation of 'new' approaches, understandings and acknowledgements as a result of two cultures 'colliding' (Bhabha, 2004).

Bhabha's (2015) concept of hybridity was developed to explore two dynamics. First was to describe the relationship between coloniser and colonised and how it creates a 'hybrid' culture (Bhabha, 2015). Second was to explore the cultural differences of dominant and migrant groups, and in particular how they (inter)act in society (Bhabha, 2015). In regards to Britain, both are linked as Britain has a unique relationship with the South-Asian culture, due to its colonisation of South Asia and the fact that South-Asians have chosen to migrate to the UK since independence from Britain (Malik, 2010).

Werbner (2015) suggests the differences that form cultural hybridity can be temporal, political, racial, sexual, social or economic. When speaking of BSA communities in particular, cultural hybridity is dependent on a number of key factors.

First is the fact that there are a number of different cultures in South-Asia (Bose & Jalal, 2017). South-Asia is a densely populated continent comprised of five countries: Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Bose & Jalal, 2017). There are three atypical cultural manifestations which are associated to South-Asia. First is religion, with the four most practiced religions being Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism, each of which have contrasting egalitarian and caste systems (Veer, 2002). Furtermore, religion tends to be predertimined by country: India is host to Hinduism and Sikhism, whereas Pakistan and Bangladesh is host to Islam (Babb & Wadley,

1995). Second is language and ethnicity (Phadnis & Ganguly, 2001). Individuals tend to identify their language and ethnicity in terms of the country they belong to, however there are some communities who rely heavily on their caste to determine their status and subsequent belonging (Pradhan & Visweswaran, 2011). Third is dress and cuisine (Ray & Srinivas, 2012). Traditional dress varies across silk saris for women in India to salwar kameez for women in Pakistan, with men preferring to wear a kurta pajama (Bose & Jalal, 2017). In terms of cuisine, food tends to be heavily spiced with a rich aroma of mixed herbs, though Pakistan and Bangladesh tend to be heavy meat consumers whereas India and Sri-Lanka embed a vegaterianist idealogy for religious reasons (Ray & Srinivas, 2012).

Second is mode of acculturation (Berry, 2003; 2005; Sam & Berry, 2010). According to Berry (2005:698) "acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members". Phinney (2003) states that it provides an exploration to identify how migrant communities change following their entry and settlement into receiving societies, in addition to highlighting how such groups relate to each other and change as a result of their attempts to live together in culturally plural societies (Berry, 2005). There are four distinct categorisations within acculturation: (i) assimilation refers to individuals who do not wish to maintain their cultural identity (can be influenced by government policy, relationships and environments), thus seek daily interaction and acceptance into other cultures, (ii) integration refers to the possibility of individuals adopting the cultural norms of the dominant or host culture whilst maintaining their very own culture of heritage (also referred to as bi-culturalism and duality of cultural identity Ghuman, 1998; Benet-Martinez & Morris, 2002; Lal-Dey et al, 2017), (iii) separation refers to when individuals reject the dominant or host culture in favour of preserving their culture of origin, and (iv) marginalisation refers to when individuals reject both their culture of origin and the dominant host culture (Berry, 2005; Sam & Berry, 2010).

Penaloza's (1994) and Oswald's (1999) post-assimilationist approaches make significant advancements in explaining acculturation processes. However, their analyses fails to capture differences in social contexts – i.e. the dynamis of non-US societies (Askegaard et al, 2005). There has been a push to understand the importance of contexts in defining acculturation agents, processes and outcomes (Lal Dey et al,

2017). One way of explaining this phenomenon is exploring bi-cultural identities (Benet-Martinez & Morris, 2002; Benet-Martinez & Nguyen, 2007). For example, Penanloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) fail to consider the dynamics and dynamisms associated to acculturation for second and/or third-generation migrants who are born and moulded by host societies, unlike their first-generation counterparts. Lal Dey et al (2017) identify that due to their distinct religious practices, Hindus and Muslims may find it challenging to assimilate within a Christian majority multicultural society such as the UK. The process of acculturation for Mexican-Americans in the US (Penaloza, 1994), would be different for BSAs. Arguments have also resided in the fact that the socio-political and historic inter-relations between host and migrant communities can also influence acculturation mechanisms (Benet-Martinez & Morris, 2002).

Formats of bi-culturalism and integration has thus received considerable attention in both consumer research and social sciences. Schwartz et al (2010) discovered that many young Latin-American migrants in the US are fluent in both English in Spanish, in addition to showcasing both individualistic and collectivist values. This is the reason why their practices, values and identifications manifest into an integrated culture (Schwartz et al, 2010). This is different to the British context. Although there is a welcoming of different ethnic and religious practices by the government (i.e. construction of Mosques) which, on the face of it facilitates integration, it might not always encourage them to adopt and in participate in wider consumer culture (i.e. purchasing expensive cars) (Jamal, 2003). Having said that, there is growing evidence that ethnic communities in Britain are likely to have bi-cultural tendencies in contemporary times compared to the 1960s and 1970s (Dustmann & Theodoropoulos, 2007). This however, fluctuates as a result of socio-political discourse (Lal Dey et al, 2017).

Acculturation can be facilitated by the similarities between host and migrant cultures (Rudmin, 2003). Nevertheless, when home and host cultures are distinctly different, there is the overwhelming possibility that it can in fact, discourage membership and thus create questional paradoxes between his or her inner self (Berry, 2005). This is demonstrated in the Iranian youth lived experiences in the UK who experience such conflict whereby they have the desire to keep their ancestral culture intact, as well as embrace a Westernised culture, however, the UK's socio-political and socio-cultural environments do not match those associated with Iran (Nourian et al, 2016).

Third is level of multiculturalism in new country. According to Modood (2007) and Rietveld (2014), the level of multiculturalism in the host country has a significant impact on the visibility of culture. Wise & Velayutham (2009) suggests there are two formats of multiculturalism which are practiced: 'everyday multiculturalism' which marks out the cultural diversity and 'policy-orientated multiculturalism' which focuses on group-based rights, service provisions and legislations. Kymlicka (2010) states that a country which celebrates multiculturalism embeds inclusion whereby cultural differences are not challenged, but endorsed. On the contrary, when a country refutes multiculturalism, they tend to have marginalised ethno-cultural communities who withdraw into their cultures of origin when challenged (Tholen & Vries, 2004).

Uberoi & Modood (2013) explicate how Britain's identity today differs from what it was a century ago, with the same stance applying to people's British identities. Fundamentally, legal and political ideologies shape people's sense of Britain's level of multiculturalism (Modood, 2007). For example, since mass migration in the 1960s and the subsequent demand from migrant communities, multicultural education in schools, which highlights why different cultural communities comprise the nation, has been ever-present (Uberoi & Modood, 2013). Nevertheless, Clayton (2012) argues that the 'complexity of community' in Britain creates various power struggles as some cultural groups have gained acceptance in society, whereas others' cultural attachments are rejected, in addition to conflict existing between one or more ethno-cultural groups. From the perspective of BSAs, it is suggested that events such as 9/11 and 7/7 have disrupted the progession of multiculturalism, and as a result, created different versions of the existing British identity and people's sense of it (Abbas, 2004; Uberoi & Modood, 2013; Franceschelli & O'Brien, 2015).

Fourth is interlinked between length of time in new country, generational status and differences amongst its group. According to Jaspal & Coyle (2010) the generation one resides in has a significant impact on the way they behave, speak, dress, in addition to their leisure, sport and relationship preferences. There are several examples of the differences in BSAs according to their generation status: (i) language – whereby second-generation BSAs expressed a desire to maintain continuity of self-definition as 'Asian', primarily through the maintenance of their heritage language (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010), (ii) health behaviour – second-generation BSAs are far more likely to live healthier lifestyles compared to first-generation BSAs as a result of access to

healthcare and openness to change (Williams & Shams, 1998; Furnham & Adam-Said, 2000), (iii) dance, music and fashion – second-generation BSAs created, and paved the way, for a hybrid culture which included mixing bhangra songs with Hip Hop and RnB and mixing traditional and 'western' clothing (Huq, 2003; Bakrania, 2013), (iv) marriage – whilst the majority of first-generation BSAs maintained largely collectivist values in the family, second-generation BSAs saw marriage as an expression of cultural hybridity and individual fulfilment by marrying 'outsiders' (Goodwin & Cramer, 2000), and (v) sport – subsequent BSA generations are active agents when in making and shaping their own careers in respect to choosing to engage with some 'western' cultural commodities such as football participation and engagement, irrespective of gender dynamics (Ratna, 2011).

Within the context of tackling inclusion/exclusion, Werbner (2015) argues that the difficulties which manifest between dominant and migrant communities as a result of cultural hybridity needs to be overcome by building cross-cultural and multi-ethnic alliances. However, evidence suggests that cross-cultural, genered politics, anti-racism movements and tranversal alliances can, in fact, interfere with hybridity. For example, the Black Lives Matter movement which evoled into a potent alternative to the social inequality perpetuated by the breakdown of trust in institutional and statutory systems across the US and UK in particular, has seen a drastic rise in cultural hostility (Rickford, 2016). Nummi et al (2019) state that through race-based micro and macro aggressions, Black communities (now encompasses other ethnic minority groups) expressed cultural resistance which was founded upon a narrative that fuelled oppression, inferiority, inequality and rejection. Likewise, Bandyopadhyay's (2020) study of the migrant Naga community in mainland Delhi identified how the 'Nagas' expressed intense cultural resistance as there was a call for them to re-negotiate their identity to match that of dominant cultural customs. Such examples demonstrate the complexity of hybridisation, insofar, migrant communities either dilute their own culture to gain acceptance in dominant social environments, or retreat into, or celebrate their own cultures when threatened (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

This naturally therefore leads to the question: how has cultural hybridity effected BSAs in Britain? Fletcher (2012) elucidates that hybrid cultural customs can be found in BSAs pastimes, hobbies, associations, relationships and sport preferences. Hybridity also effects dominant cultures as there are both socio-cultural and socio-

economical changes and adaptations to contend with – landscapes, neighbourhoods, jobs, business owners, food, language etc. (Burdsey, 2006). This thus demonstrates that culture is dynamic and constantly changing (Bhabha, 2015). The change in cultural acceptance over the past two decades where cultural hybridity in Britain is celebrated and endorsed has resulted in many migrant communities not needing to dilute or retreat into their traditional cultures, rather these cultures are collectively endorsed (Black, 2016). Nonetheless, Rascanu (2019) highlights that such celebrations only exist in certain cultural customs which reflect dominant perspectives.

First is film and cinema where the production of BSA identity recognises cultural hybrditiy (Malik, 2010). These films tend to be made by the same ethnic minority people they represent and subsequently represent lived experiences, in addition to challenging stereotypical ideologies which surfaced through migration from the South-Asian continent (Malik, 2010). Akomfrah (2007) explains how Black and Asian film-makers throughout the 1980s found themselves representing their identity in a bid to open the 'third-space'.

In order to decipher the differences between ethnic minority groups, Malik (2010) calls for a splitting up between Black and Asian productions (i.e. *Black* British Cinema and British *Asian* cinema). For the former, the popular cinematic Blue Story (released in 2019), which represents the lived experiences of many young black communities in London, highlighting the nexus between gangs, family and love, offers a definitive representation of black culture from the eyes of those living it (Andrews, 2019). For BSA film, we have seen a surge in popular cinematics, from East is East in 1999 (Zapata, 2010) to Bend It Like Beckham in 2002 (Chacko, 2010). With the growth of these particular films, there was a deliberate attempt to transform appraisals of Black and Asian communities through the inclusion of cultural difference and an openness to "interactions that signify the possibilities of forging alliances across difference" (Chacko, 2010:85). This thus became an act of conscious (intentional) hybridity where there was a deliberate attempt to fuse two separate cultures together (Bhabha, 2015; Werbner, 2015).

Second is associated to a change in cultural consumption: food. Herminingrum (2017) suggests food is an oft-forgetten cultural characteristic which can influence and effect

hybrditiy inasmuch, food is not merely a basic need for survival, it also has the abilities to connect different groups of people through a socio-cultural nexus of enjoyment, pleasure, taste and kinship. Svensson (2020) argues that when the 'Other's' food is consumed, "the unfamiliar becomes familiar" (p.64). This is the case in Britain where phrases such as 'going for an Indian' has become a popular aspect of British social customs since the 1980s (Buettner, 2008:865). Specifically, when two food cultures are divided (as was the case in Britain between the English and South-Asian 'Other' during initial migration), apparent differences are accentuated, thus fuelling negative social relationships (Svensson, 2020). Therefore, the process of achieving hybridity in this context relies not on explicit modes of cultural alliance, rather it resides in 'organic hybridity' where "new images, words, objects are integrated into language or cultural unconsciously" (Werbner, 2015:7). This form of hybridity does not aggressively disrupt existing cultures, rather subtly introduces 'new' cultural characteristics to a social environment (Werbner, 2015).

The key point offered is that culture in itself is dynamic and has the ability to manifest into many different types (Bhabha, 2015). Moreover, this subsection highlights how cultural characteristics are not lived on the basis of eternal difference, rather hybridity encompasses the potential to transform and unify two or more cultures which are considered incompatible (Chako, 2010). Section 2.3.3 reviews the importance of national identity and its relationship to sporting allegiances.

2.3.3: National identity and its importance to sporting allegiances

Although there are minute differences which explain what identity is, its main conception stems from it being a concept of one's self (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel et al, 1979; Fearon, 1999). National identity is one of the most basic social identities and is defined as a person's sense of belonging to one state or to one nation (Dahbour, 2002). Bechhofer & McCrone (2009:3) posit national identity is a concept which evokes an array of responses, yet they argue there is little to say, as everyone has a national identity, whether they like it or not, and "is an add-on of being a citizen, not a distinct concept varying from person to person". Albeit the main function of national identity resides in one's ability to refer to a nation, Cantle's (2014:312) study suggests

it is a complex and multifaceted form of association, especially with the development of 'plural', or 'bi-cultural' identities - a condition of being oneself with a combination of two-cultures (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005).

Multiple scholars and research practitioners elucidate how sport is not only one of the most significant ways to establish how notions of 'Britishness' and 'Englishness' are constructed, conveyed, contested and resisted, but also how it has the capability of highlighting the complex processes inherent to its manifestations (MacClancy, 1996; Brown, 1998; Back et al, 1998; Bairner, 2003; Burdsey, 2006; 2007; Goldblatt, 2012; Porter & Smith, 2013; Ward, 2013; Gibbons, 2016). The idea, for example, that sport creates and exhibits a sense of national identity, or 'nationhood' to oneself is essential in acknowledging embodied forms of acceptance, belonging, marginalisation or segregation (Ward, 2009; Bairner, 2015). Additionally, others poignantly accept sport as a key instigator when it comes to developing and creating national identities:

"Having once made the requisite imaginative leap and accepted that the eleven men who appear in white shirts at Wembley, or the fifteen at Twickenham, are 'England', the possibilities for defining or redefining what it means to be 'English' are inextricably linked to what happens on the field of play".

(Porter & Smith, 2013:2).

The idea that formulations of national identity can be solidified by on-field sporting representations is not new in socio-political discourse. For instance, Gilroy (1993) and King (2004) found that black Britons readily identify popular manifestations of 'Englishness' as inherently exclusionary to ethnic minority people, with social arenas such as English football providing a platform where modes of national identity can be demonstrated, thus the feeling of alienation and marginalisation found in mainstream society can be transferred into football discourse. For example, prominent England and Arsenal FC centre-back Sol Campbell pledged his annoyance at not being made England caption because he was 'not White' (BBC, 2014; Randall & Rumsby, 2014).

The relationship between national identity and sporting affiliations has only in recent years been discussed and contextualised across BSA lines (see Jaspal & Coyle, 2010;

Kilvington & Saeed, 2012; Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2013; Millings, 2013; Ratna, 2014; Fletcher, 2012; 2014; Fletcher & Spracklin, 2014; Franceschilli & O'Brien, 2015). Research conducted by scholars across the last two decades illustrate how many BSAs are reluctant to associate themselves with dominant images of 'Englishness' and the manifestations of what it means to be 'English' (see McGuire et al, 2001; Carrington & McDonald, 2002; Fletcher, 2012; Kilvington, 2016). The National Centre of Social Research (2017) uncovered the popularity of choosing to be labelled 'British' over 'English' for many BSAs, was linked to the racisms suffered either personally or heard through the community relations. Similar to what Parekh (2000) suggests, many of its participants found the 'British' categorisation to be more inclusive and all-encompassing. Significantly, a ComRes (2018) survey found more than half (54%) of BSAs had 'toned down' their 'Asianness' to ensure they 'fitted in' in society dynamics. The Office for National Statistics (2011) identified that (i) 58% of Indians see themselves as 'British', whilst only 12% identified as 'English', (ii) 71% of Bangladeshis see themselves as 'British', whilst only 8% identify as 'English' and (ii) 63% of Pakistanis see themselves as 'British', whilst only 15% identify as 'English'.

2.3.3.1: Football versus cricket

Burdsey (2006) claims that one of the most powerful ways the rejection of 'Englishness' is displayed manifests itself in a variety of contemporary socio-cultural spheres (e.g. music, entertainment and sport). Cricket, a sport where exotic levels of national loyalties are regularly expressed allows for such exploration (Fletcher, 2009; 2011; 2014; Fletcher & Walle, 2013).

Over the past two decades there have been numerous documented incidents which popularise the fact that many BSAs systemically choose to support their country of ancestry over their country of residence (BBC Sport, 2018). Both Jackson (2004) and Williams (2018) accentuate how such show of ancestral patriotism is especially prevalent in cases where the subcontinent team is competing against England. Fletcher (2009) postulates how during the 2009 WorldTwenty20 match which saw England host India, the England squad were subjected to a torrent of boos and jeers by hundreds of BSAs who had come to support the Indian national team. Such a show of

'subcontinent commitment' (Fletcher, 2009:15) exasperated a number of English nationalists – namely former-MP Norman Tebbit and Nasser Hussain (An Anglo-Asian who captained the English national team between 1999 and 2003). The role of cricket had wider implications to national discourse:

> "I really cannot understand why those born here, or who came here at a very young age like me, cannot support or follow England. Following England has got to be the way. It was disappointing to see a sea of green shirts with the names of Pakistani players instead of ours. It reminded me of when we played India at Edgbaston in the World Cup. It was like an away game because so many people support their side."
>
> (Hussain cited in Chaudhary's (2001) newspaper article).

Subcontinent allegiances and divided loyalties of many BSAs is a prerequisite of the 'Tebbit Test': a "superficial measurement of fidelity and assimilation of migrant groups in Britain" (Fletcher, 2011:614). Bakrania (2013) asserts that the 'test of commitment' identifies who should be able to enjoy the states successes, and who should not. Burdsey (2007a:87) points out how supporting one's ancestral 'homeland' is a popular means of constructing and maintaining an 'imagined community', whereby one has the opportunity to (i) celebrate cultural traditions, (ii) discuss and debate subcontinent happenings, (iii) reiterate and remember historical occurrences and, (iv) reaffirm family and friendship ties – all of which help to educate and inform young British-born generations. Werbner (2004:468) argues that the support of a subcontinent team for BSAs can also be articulated as a (sub)conscious effect to oppose 'postcolonial sensibility', or representations of 'Englishness'. The same author suggests not only does the support of one's ancestral team express love and continual commitment, it symbolises a "sense of alienation and disaffection from British society" (Werbner, 1996:101).

Contrary to popular right-ring notions of intense nationalism, White (2008) argues that ideals promoted through national loyalty 'tests' are simply illogical, irrational and

exhaustively repressive, so much so, “it can’t get past the colour of someone’s skin”. As a result, there have been calls for an ‘Amir Khan test’ (Burdsey, 2007b) which promotes the harmony, multicultural integration and honour the BSA community represent.

The extent to which national identity dispositions effects modes of attachment to the subcontinent are clear within cricket discourse. When it comes to national attachment and English football, the scholarly community appear to be in a consensus that very little attention (media and academic) has gone into evaluating the role football plays in developing national loyalty for BSAs (see Burdsey, 2006; 2007a; Ratna, 2008; 2014; Kilvington, 2017). Lewis (2015) identified that this may be due to the fact that within mainstream discourse, football is readily considered to be an ‘insignificant’ social activity for many BSAs, thus its expression on one’s identity is rarely given any thought (see also Goldblatt, 2014).

In sum, section 2.3.3 has clarified several key characteristics: (i) although the concept of national identity is a simplistic one, when it is contextualised across BSA lineages, it becomes complex and multi-faceted; (ii) sport is one of a few spaces where notions of ‘Englishness’ and ‘Britishness’ are constructed, conceived, contested and resisted which is thus linked to forms of acceptance, belonging, marginalisation and segregation - BSAs prefer to adopt the term ‘British’ over ‘English’ as it includes ethnic diversity; (iii) cricket is arguably one of the prominent examples where national identity and sporting allegiances are framed. The next section reviews the role of ‘race’ and racism(s), and its significance in English football.

2.4: Acknowledging race and racism(s): its place within English football

Effects of race on sporting processes has been significantly dissected, analysed and evaluated over the past three decades. Omi & Winant (2002:123) claim 'race' is a concept which "signifies and symbolises social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies". The same views have been expressed by Gates (1989) who suggests 'race' is a key component of one's everyday experiences and is thus the ultimate characteristic of difference. The perception of 'race' in sport, according to race-relations scholar Hylton (2009:4-5), is an "oversimplified reductionist tenet that reinforces biological arguments, homogeneity and universalism". Gilroy (1987) argues that institutional forces (i.e. policy makers) have legitimised this oversimplification, rather than challenge the manifestations of 'race' and its importance on sporting processes.

Over the past century, theoretical and political debates have raged over how to conceptualise racism and its significance as a social and analytical concept. Firstly, seminal work conducted by psycho-analyst Fanon (1952) postulates how racism is an ideology which directly influences social inhabitants (humans) and the roles they play. The author's conception derives explicitly from the role of colonialism and the violence it instigated to groups of people based purely on one's 'race'. However, his work has been heavily criticised (e.g. Bienen, 1977; Nursey-Bray, 1980) as the relationship between ideology and social change is too simplistic and determinist in its ascription, in that violence was thought of as the only racist action (Table 1, page 35-36), illustrates how other forms of racism exist).

A second conceptualisation rests on Grosfogeul et al's (2014:638) stance on the influence of intersectionality on racism. In short, the author argues 'race' constitutes the transversal dividing line that cuts across multiple power relations (e.g. gender and class relations), thus levels of racism can differ between agents (e.g. those living in poor neighbourhoods are prone to 'more' racism). Thirdly, as delivered by Miles (1989) and Foster (1993) who have similar conceptualisations. The existence of racism is delivered in the following terms of reference: racism entails; "(i) particular sets of representational content… (ii)… certain social included psychological processes (racialisations) which taken together provide justification for (iii) practices of inclusion and exclusion" (Foster, 1993:56). This conception refers to processes

"involved in the overlapping, contiguity and interrelationship between ideologies" (Foster, 1993:56). Though they all have different associations and processes, they each refer to racism's incredulous need for 'racial domination' (Wilson, 1999:14; Desmond & Emirbayer, 2009).

Prominent race-relations scholar Fredman (2001:2) definition of racism is oft-cited: "racism is the product of our thoughts that can be recognised by its proclivity to stereotyping which may lead to discrimination and prejudice". It can also be articulated across "any set of claims or arguments which signify some aspect of the physical features of an individual or group as a sign of permanent distinctiveness and which attribute negative characteristics and/or consequences to the individual's or group's presence" (Miles, 1989:149). Given the general consensus that racism violates social norms and inter-community practices (Solomos & Back, 1994; Omi & Winant, 2002; Modood, 1997; 2000; 2009; Sommers & Norton, 2006; Meer & Modood, 2009; Kawakami et al, 2009; Bressey, 2016; Farrington et al, 2017; Dyson, 2017; Bowser, 2017; DiAngelo, 2018), the strong negative valuations attached to the 'racist' label is substantiated by its ability to be charged as a "significant rhetorical and political weapon" (Doane, 2006:260).

In line with the abovementioned conceptualisations, Clair & Denis (2015:6) argue racism is a social process which manifests across two major social lines: (i) that of the historical context which focuses on "general mechanisms that account for macro-level changes", and (ii) the micro-social processes which "operate in interpersonal interaction". Several race-relations scholars claim that the recent trends and political developments in Britain (i.e. post-Brexit rhetoric) has reignited, and to a certain extent, re-established debates centred on 'race' and 'racialisations' of ethnic minority people (Andrews, 2015; Burnett, 2017; Virdee & McGeever, 2018; Chakrabortty, 2018). A globalised National People's Action Policy (2016:5) recognise 'racialisations' as the "process by which racial understandings are formed, re-formed and assigned to groups of people *and* to social institutions and practices, and to the consequences of such understandings". Moreover, Grosfoguel et al (2014:637) note how racialisations occur through the "marking of bodies".

Recent work on racialisations has suggested a pragmatic use of 'space' to assess and evaluate inclusion/exclusion dynamisms. Within the discipline of sociology, there

have been studies which focus on interpreting how 'space' is structured in relation to the social and cultural practices of communities (Carrington, 1999), gender, sexuality and 'race' (Van Ingen, 2003) an its use to evaluate sport (Andrews et al, 2002; Hylton, 2009). Specifically, Hylton (2009) utilises a triad of concepts from Lefebvre's (1991) work on spatiality to offer a dynamic insight into how spaces are *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived*. Such distinct notions present a view that sport can be used to integrate social groups, especially with the suggestion that "our lived spaces (spaces of representation) are instrumental in how we imagine other spaces (conceived spaces) and how we manage our spatial practices (perceived space)" (Hylton, 2009:7-8), or the structure of how we see and experience sport within this triad of concepts.

Although dominant assumptions articulate how 'race' and racism(s) are seen to be sets of ideals which centre on biological difference, (Hylton, 2009) argues that they are neither singular nor monolithic in their display. Rather, they are multidimensional and offer a relay of (sub)conscious action which propagate inferiority and otherness (Goldberg, 1990). Within the confines of race-relations and its effect on social relations, Kilvington, (2016:59) forwards Malcolm X's oft-cited analogy of 'racism is like a Cadillac, they bring out a new model every year'. This reveals that: (i) racism is not as static as they co-develop with social insecurities and insensitivities, and (ii) they still harbour the same historically-ascribed meanings, even if the 'structure' has changed overtime. Prominent race-theorists Hylton (2010) and Johnson (2013) contextualise its significance across an 'us versus them' power continuum where one's 'race' is the definitive characteristic being judged and thus categorised. Though the end goal of racism has never changed, it is of paramount importance to critique it across plural terms (Solomos, 2013), especially as it manifests itself through different forms, frameworks and/or structures (Hylton, 2009). Table 1 provides an assessment of the different forms of racism in contemporary understanding.

Forms of racism(s)	Basic Meaning & Context	Key Authors/Research
Casual/Subtle	1. Often go unnoticed (except for the person feeling the impact of them) and therefore, unaddressed. 2. This racism can include "speech and behaviours that treat cultural differences – such as forms of dress, cultural practices, physical features or accents – as problematic, manifesting in disapproving glances, exclusionary body language, and marginalising people's experiences as invalid" (Nelson & Walton (2014). 3. Otherwise described as 'simple banter'.	Essed, 1991; Lancaster, 1991; Immerwahr, 1992; Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Nelson & Walton, 2014; Brice, 2014; Persico, 2017; Lentin, 2017
Overt/Explicit	1. Involves conscious and deliberate acts of intolerance and hatred perpetrated by individuals and groups. 2. Attitudes and practices are expressed or shown in publicly or in an obvious way. 3. Allows us to categorise the oppressors and the oppressed.	Massey et al, 1975; Modood, 1990; Van Dijk, 1997; Bonilla-Silva, 2001; 2003; Wilson, 2005; Gillborn, 2006; Dovidio & Gartner, 2017; Dyson, 2018
Covert/Inferential	1. Viewed as the 'new' form of racism 2. Expresses racist ideas, attitudes or beliefs in hidden or secret forms. 3. Many have argued it is the widely adopted form of racism in society. 4. Extremely difficult to capture and limit its existence. 5. Often linked explicitly with stereotypes.	Anderson, 1988; Sniderman et al, 1991; Scheurich et al, 2002; Holdaway & O'Neill, 2007; Rodney & Coates, 2011; Hylton, 2015; Lopez, 2018; Bhopal, 2018
Institutional	1. Embedded within institutional and organisational structures. 2. Described as hidden; secret; private; covered; disguised; insidious or concealed. 3. Difficult to identify and challenge, but in many ways is more pervasive than overt racism. 4. Operates as a mechanism to protect racial elites' position of power. 5. Proven to be linked to subconscious bias	Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Jeanquart-Barone & Sekaran, 1996; Solomos, 1999; Macpherson, 1999; Bergerson, 2003; Wilson, 2005; Coates, 2011; Farrington et al, 2017; Tate & Page, 2018; Feagin & Ducey, 2019
Symbolic	1. Symptom of generalised tendencies to derogate out-groups 2. Refers to the ethnic, religious or racial symbols that 'out-groups' display. 3. After 9/11, Britain saw inter-community relations deteriorate, as anyone who wore a turban, or simply 'looked Asian' was at risk of physical assault or verbal abuse.	McConahay & Hough, 1976; Weigel & Howes, 1985; Gilroy, 1987; Hughes, 1997; Sears, 1988; Van Dijk, 1993; Ratcliffe, 2004; Tarman & Sears, 2005; Sears & Henry, 2005; Dovidio et al, 2017

Cultural	1. Beliefs and customs that promote the assumption that the norms and traditions of a given culture (i.e. language) are superior/inferior to those of other cultures. 2. It is the authority to create and define the culture in a society – in Britain the standards of art, beauty, sport and other forms of culture have historically been decided by white, Christian men. As a result, the dominant British culture often reflects the needs of such group whilst excluding or devaluing the contributions of 'others'. 3. Not only classes designated groups in seemingly objective terms, it also regulates these terms through normalising judgements. I.e. "Asian cultural practices are not only different, they are "not normal", out of the ordinary, and therefore a source of fear and aversion".	Fanon, 1976; Blaut, 1992; Jones, 1999; Hall, 2002; Balibar, 2005; Scott, 2007; Addy, 2008; Powell, 2010; Clark, 2015

Table 1: Different forms of racism experienced in society

The manifestations of racism are not excluded in English football (see Back et al, 2001; Garland & Rowe, 2001; Hylton, 2005; 2010; FURD, 2012; Goldblatt, 2014; Cleland, 2014; Cleland & Cashmore, 2016; Dixon et al, 2016; Gardiner & Riches, 2016; Lovett, 2018; Katwala, 2018; Tyers, 2018). One way to examine and analyse the conception of 'race' and racialized processes in sport across multiple disciplines has been to adopt a critical approach to uncover its manifestations and significance. Although there have been different theoretical perspectives which evaluate formats of inclusion/exclusion (i.e. ableism Beratan, 2005; Campbell, 2008 and feminist social theory Davis 2008), Critical Race Theory (CRT) has been widely adopted across previous literatures because of its ability to evaluate inequalities through racialisations (see Hylton, 2009; 2010; Burdsey 2007a; Kilvington, 2016).

2.4.1: Critical Race Theory

Prominent CRT intellectuals (Crenshaw, 1998; Crenshaw et al, 1995; Delgado, 1993; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; 2017, Arai & Kivel, 2009; Howard & Navarro, 2016; Parker, 2019; Bonilla-Silva, 2019) explain that the CRT movement allows for a comprehensive examination of the relationship between race and power. Its theoretical foundation begins with the underlying argument that race determines social order (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The theory assumes that race is a social construction which does not have a fixed or inherently objective definition, thus exists primarily for purposes of social stratification – i.e. judgements of inferiority/superiority determined specifically by the colour of one's skin (Yosso et al, 2009). Ortiz & Jani (2010:176) explore this assumption by arguing that "race permeates all aspects of social life, and race-based ideology is threaded throughout society". Schneider (2004) argues this perspective aligns with critical postmodern theory in relation to its ability to acknowledge, analyse and decipher factors, features and components in society which cause and incubate oppression, disadvantage and subsequent exclusion.

In diagnosing oppression and disadvantages, CRT promotes a structural approach to addressing the problems and issues within a diverse society by creating a multifaceted understanding of social phenomena rather than leaning towards the simple strategy of

expanding resources to invoke opportunity, representation and 'forced' inclusion (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In doing so, it becomes not a descriptive concept, but a theoretical grip that contains an activist dimension, insofar it tries not only to understand why society organises itself along racialised lines and hierarchies, but how it can be transformed to accommodate 'Others' (Kumasi, 2011). Table 2 (page 41) illustrates the five key tenets which underpin its theoretical existence, in addition to demonstrating its validity in contemporary research.

Several scholars who propose the use of CRT in social research (e.g. Solorzano, 1997, Arai & Kivel, 2009, Constance-Huggins, 2012) explicate that the racial categorisation in contemporary society (how race effects social dynamics) is constantly moving and adapting (i.e. heightened awareness of its existence and role), hence evaluating its effect becomes an iterative and agile process – a process which CRT acknowledges, with its flexible structure. Subsequently, its perspective has been engaged in a variety of rich debates concerning: (i) lived experiences of 'Others' across the law, health, education and political sectors and (ii) media, with a particular focus on cultural production and representations towards and of 'Others'.

When it comes to addressing the significance of race in sectors such as law, education and politics, CRT critiques the concept of liberalism, or in other words, colour-blindness – equal treatment for all groups irrespective of their histories or current situations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017:26). This critique is at the heart of what CRT displays. As pointed out by Delgado & Stefancic (2001), colour-blindness is not a true reflection of reality, arguing that rules, regulations and experiences oftentimes benefit those in power and subsequently obstruct the development of 'Others'. This is routinely seen in cases across immigration law and belonging (Shelton, 2018), identity politics (Aach, 2017) and the restriction of equal opportunity in education (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Howard & Navarro, 2016), all of which create this perception that "race has become metaphorical – a way of referring to and disguising forces, events, classes, and expressions of social decay and economic division far more threatening to the body politic than biological 'race' was ever" (Ladson-Billings, 1998:8). As a result, only aggressive, colour-conscious efforts to change the way society (sub)consciously thinks and acts will do to improve current and future situations (Yosso et al, 2009).

Within communication research, CRT helps explain how racial groups' struggle to conceptualise and express their thoughts, interests and feelings, partly because a socio-economic wall is constructed to allow for the succession of 'Whites' and the failures of 'Others' (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). Through this procedural evaluation, exploring media representations, has, according to Yosso (2002), a direct result on the lived experiences of 'Others'. It is widely accepted that the media has the power to develop and install a narrative which imposes a superiority/inferiority dynamic (Jamal, 2001). Allen (2016) speculates that this is to maintain inequal mindsets and practices to keep White privileges intact. This argument also includes intrinsic narratives which support, and further implement racialised stereotypes and construct scenarios where Whiteness is supporting and anti-'Other' apprehensions are justified (Kumasi, 2011; Page et al, 2016).

In regards to advertising research, a study by Howkins (2009) used CRT to examine hidden hierarchies and privileges within fashion and clothing advertisements. It was discovered that advertisers have the ability to add "rank or status to human figures via size, posture, lighting and spatial placement" (p.94). The author also suggests that advertisements can be manipulated insofar, minority models, although visible, do not gain visual superiority. This intentional placement allows advertisers to appeal to both minorities and White consumers (Howkins, 2009). Through these representations and their subsequent narratives, micro-aggressions appear in the form of inequality, discrimination and oppressions, which, without the critical evaluation needed to understand, analyse and change the race and power dynamic, such racialised inequalities will continue to exist (Yossi et al, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). According to Cook (1999), there are numerous examples of this phenomenon in action: (i) Meghan Markle's negative coverage compared to Kate Middleton (Petter, 2020), (ii) National Football League's Richard Sherman's narrative as a bad role model in America (Page et al, 2016) and (iii) Manchester City's Raheem Sterling's continued negative coverage (Fifield, 2018).

Like other critical perspectives, CRT has gained notable resistance amongst the scholarly community. First is the argument that the ideology surrounding CRT is far too narcissistic in nature as scholars and activists end up writing a subjective account

which has inevitably been influenced by personal experiences (Litowitz, 1999). Nevertheless, to change a social dynamic, Kumasi (2011) states it is important to be embedded within its culture, thus without the intrinsic understanding of dynamics, little will be done to overcome inequalities. Second is the argument that CRT is in pursuit of racial emancipation and anti-subordination, thus offers a false sense of racial differences (Mocombe, 2017). This argument is taken into account within the CRT perspective in regards to appreciating the situational changes to perceptions of racial categorisations (Arai & Kivel, 2009). Third is the argument that CRT is only useful in society because, we, as social beings, consistently align to a 'culture of complaining' which suggests inequality will always exist irrespective of insights, changes and adaptations (Subnotik, 1998:687). Yet, as history demonstrates, change can only be accomplished through a heightened sense of insight and action (i.e. Mandela in South-Africa; Blakemore 2019 and Rosa Parks in America; Theoharis 2015).

Overall, CRT provides a helpful lens for studying the link between racism, inequality and advertising. Importantly, it enables one to interrogate the relationship between football advertising and its links to inclusion/exclusion of BSA players within English football. Section 2.4.1 reviews the extent of racism in English football.

#	Tenet	Comments and Myths associated with CRT
1.	Race is a central construct when examining inequality, however it is not exclusive to inequalities	1. **Myth**: Race is the reason for inequality. **Counter**: CRT offers the chance to identify other components of inequality with its focus on ensuring the voice of the oppressed is at the forefront 2. **Myth**: Other characteristics are second to race **Counter**: There is no hierarchy of oppression. Rather CRT explores why oppression and inequality exist.
2.	CRT challenges dominant ideals which create and manifest inequality	1. **Myth**: CRT just criticises the white society. **Counter**: CRT seeks to positively identify, disrupt and transform racialized power relations. It focuses on processes (i.e. 'Whiteness') rather than social constructs (i.e. white people).
3.	Social justice and transformation are core goals of CRT	1**. Myth**: CRT targets major and unrealistic change. **Counter**: Up until CRT's inception, there were very little theoretical concepts available to examine and critique racial inequalities. Although important gains have been made in the legal system for example, there is still work to be done when it comes to exploring social inequalities.
4.	The 'oppressed' voice is at the core of all examinations	**Myth**: CRT is reductionist in nature as it homogenises the 'othered' experiences. **Counter**: As CRT is anti-essentialist and anti-reductionist, CRT is not exclusive to any one social group, although there are certain groups of people who are under-researched in particular contexts. Essentially, each individual has a unique perspective to inequalities, hence the need for the oppressed voice to be at the core of all examinations.
5.	CRT is transdisciplinary	**1. Myth**: CRT is focused on the law and education discipline only **Counter**: Over the past two decades, there has been extensive research undertaken in a series of different disciplines. It also draws insights from many disciplines and contexts.

Table 2: 5 tenets of CRT and its justification in research (taken from Hylton, 2010:339)

2.4.1: English football and racism

"Racism in football operates in increasingly complex, subtle and nuanced ways, to the extent that it often goes unrecognised and subsequently unchallenged, in the game" (Burdsey, 2007a:40)

There is an abundant of research available which demonstrates how sport, and in particular English football, has proved to be a hotbed for acts of discrimination, prejudice, inequality and racial injustices (see Brown, 1998; Ruddock, 2005; Lusted, 2009; Saeed & Kilvington, 2011; Farrington et al, 2012; Epstein, 2013; Goldblatt, 2014 Cleland & Cashmore, 2016; BBCSport, 2018). When the English Football Association (FA) was formed in 1863 to regulate the national game (TheFA, 2018), a pattern emerged, which according to Cleland & Cashmore (2016:27), lasted for well over 100 years: namely, that it is a game "played and watched by predominately white, working-class men". Williams (2017) identifies how during the late 1970's, football's 'hegemonic whiteness' began to be challenged, with black players such as Viv Anderson, Cyrille Regis and John Barnes gaining professional status (see also Lovett, 2018). Back et al (2001) claim that rather than embrace such a significant change in the racial profile of English football, the players were subjected to overt and hostile racism(s) from supporters, players and institutional bodies, some of which were initiated by far-right unions (see also Garland & Rowe, 2001). Thus, Campbell (2016) articulates how English football has continuously had difficulties associating itself with non-masculine, non-white characteristics.

Although there are other rising factors to contend with which prohibit constructions of harmony and all-inclusiveness in English football (i.e. gender inequality – see Wagg, 2004; Ahmed, 2011; Ratna, 2011; homophobia – see Cleland et al, 2018; Magrath & Stott, 2018 and trans-discrimination – see Piskeruk, 2018) occurring within the national sport, racialisations and acts of racism have been a constant occurrence since initial migrations of ethnic groups (Back & Crabbe, 2001). This is succumbed in a study by Cleland & Cashmore (2014:9) on fan engagement which highlights that despite the increase in anti-racist sentiments, 83% of participants believed racism still exists and thrives within the football space. Furthermore, recent research conducted (e.g. Duits et al, 2016; Farrington et al, 2017; Kilvington, 2017c; Mitten, 2018) highlight the power of 'new' forms of media (i.e. social media) are re-appropriating

racism, in that acts are codified in anonymity, thus action to discourage and dispel are disparagingly low.

Whilst on-field incidents are well-documented, Garland & Rowe (2001:4) accentuate how racism within English football is a "complex phenomenon that manifests itself inconsistently throughout the game", hence perceptions of 'racial dominance' can exist anywhere within the overall parameter of the game: be it (i) on the pitch (Onuora, 2015), (ii) in changing/locker rooms (Goldblatt, 2014), (iii) in stadia and its surrounding areas (Burdsey & Randhawa, 2011), in addition to (iv) football's administrative roles (Long & Spracklen, 2010; Bradbury, 2013; Hylton & Lawrence, 2016).

In examining why only a limited number of BSAs have proceeded to 'make it' in English football, Burdsey (2007a:40-41) argues that one needs to first consider the broad, general patterns of racial marginalisation. In this respect, such marginalisation's are predominately enacted through two popular processes: (i) the tangible barriers-to-entry, which "physically restrict involvement", and/or the (ii) symbolic processes, which "serve to maintain unequal inclusion by dictating which groups (do not) feel acceptance and belonging". The author puts forth the notion that these are malleable and interchangeable when it comes to excluding BSAs. Another way of approaching it is with Hall's (2002) conception of 'white-flight' ideals which also identifies tangible and intangible forces which (pre)determine racialisations, or inferior/superior categorisations based simply on one's race.

The triad of explanations: (i) football's principles, (ii) BSA norms, values and ideals, and (iii) inclusion/exclusion dynamics within society lends itself to a focus on Islamophobia. Subsequently, multiple researchers, scholars and practitioners (e.g. Millward, 2008; Burdsey, 2004; Garland & Treadwell, 2010; FATaskForce, 2010; Kilvington & Price, 2012; Kilvington, 2016; 2017; Joshi, 2017; Poulter, 2018) identify that facets of Islamophobia has a significant impact on BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics and dynamisms.

2.4.2: Islamophobia

Unpacking and forging the basis and influence of Islamophobia and Islamophobic rhetoric is fraught with complex dispositions which directly impact modes of inclusion and exclusion for many people of South-Asian descent (see Halliday, 1999; Allen, 2007; Millward, 2008; Garland & Treadwell, 2010). Arguments have been made that the term 'Islamophobia' is 'inconclusive' and 'bland' as it lacks analytical clarity (Allen, 2007:144), whilst others prefer to adopt the term 'anti-Muslimism' instead as it offers a conclusive account of its symbolism (Halliday, 1999:898).

Though its clarity and sustenance differs amongst scholars and practitioners, Islamophobia is the widely adopted way of explaining the anti-Muslim phenomenon (Allen, 2018). Rana (2007:148) argues that the term Islamophobia has a fairly recent origin, emerging as a 'neologism' in the 1970's to explain pre-existing racism(s) felt by many Muslim populations in Western societies. Whilst the term has only come into fruition in recent years, Miles & Brown (2003) state prejudice against Muslims has been a constant occurrence in Western civilisations since the 'Middle-Ages'. Nevertheless, the first 'real' definition of Islamophobia was given in a report by the Runnymede Trust (1997:1) whereby it is explained as "a useful shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam – any, by extension, to fear or dislike of all or most Muslims". Although the definition was derived to encapsulate the Muslim religious sect, others argue Islamophobia effects other BSA religions – i.e. Sikhs and Hindus (Singh, 2017; Sian, 2017).

Vertovec (2002:33) argues that associations of Islamophobia have increased considerably in the post-9/11 era and are typically 'sold' by one's ability to draw upon pre-existing xenophobic perceptions which conflate Muslims with notions of 'need' and 'greed' (see also Meer, 2006). Furthermore, Miles & Brown (2003) and Millward (2008) both enunciate how the prejudice towards 'Muslims' is framed by the fact a minority of White, non-Muslim Britons object to the changes being made in 'their' country, all of which have been made to accommodate (British or non-British) 'outsiders'. The feeling is that the values and traditions Muslims 'emit' are centred on terrorism, oppression, tyranny and religious domination (Halliday, 1999; Sheridan, 2006; Rana, 2007; Kaplan, 2007; Garner & Selod, 2015; Allen, 2018).

In the post-9/11 era, several studies elucidate the role the British media plays in the alienation and subjugation of many BSAs (Allen, 2001; Larsson, 2005; Millward, 2008; Gardner et al, 2008; Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010). Others (e.g. Awan, 2016; Oboler, 2016) have found social media to be a key contributor to the construction and implementation of facets of Islamophobia. According to Wood (2000), two-thirds of the British newspaper articles post 9/11 link passages of Muslims as either a 'threat' or a 'problem', in addition to Pool & Richardson (2006:90), who identified instances where the utilisation of negativity and stereotyping was found in many newspaper outlets.

The degree to which Islamophobia influences football exclusions for BSAs has been evaluated extensively in academe (see Burdsey, 2007a; Millward, 2008; Garland & Treadwell, 2010; Kilvington & Price, 2012; Cleland & Cashmore, 2014; Allen, 2016) and in practice, as anti-racist organisations recognise its growing significance in the modern game (see Awan, 2013; Cleland, 2014; Mend, 2018). Burdsey (2004a; 2004b; 2006b) convincingly argues that it is extremely unlikely football clubs deliberately set out to exclude BSAs, however, some of their implemented policies and procedures, be it formalised or intangible, do provide such a result. Instead, Burdsey (2006a) and Millward (2008:2) note that clubs prefer to adopt a 'commonsensical' approach which is drawn from dominant discourse to account for the lack of BSA professionals. For instance, Mahmood (2019) reports how football scouts are making sweeping generalisations in regards to the perceived socio-cultural processes and religious manifestations of BSAs (see also Bains & Johal, 1996; McGuire et al, 2001; Kilvington, 2017b; Williams, 2017).

Garland & Treadwell (2010) express how Islamophobia has infiltrated the football space. Due to what the authors regard as the rise of political far-right groups such as the 'English Defence League's' (EDL) social dominance. The researchers found that the creation of discriminatory groups (e.g. Casuals United – a far-right hooligan group which was based in London) allows for Islamophobic ideals to be established, re-established, transferred and transmitted to other areas of the nation (representative when the group utilises 'away' matches to infiltrate other stadia and social arenas) (Dean, 2014). Although marked forms of Islamophobia exist across all facets of racist delivery (as per Table 1, page 35), documented accounts refer to its indictment on its

overt practice (documented incidents of Islamophobia in English football are summarised in Table 3 (page 47**).**

Year	Area	Documented Incidents	Report(s)
1998	Essex	Players from Essex-based Bari FC were chased from their Sunday League match and beaten by opposing white players. No recorded action was taken by authorities.	Burdsey 2005; Garland et al, 2013
2000	Leeds	Student Sarfraz Najeib was violently beaten up by professional footballers Jonathon Woodgate and Lee Bowyer (along with a 3 of their friends). Najeib was in a coma for 2 days. After they were found guilty, crowds took sides; Bowyer was greeted with the chant of 'There's only one racist bastard', whilst Woodgate was praised by home supporters – 'Johnny Woodgate he is our friend – he hates Pakis'. Bowyer agreed to a £170,000 out-of-court settlement.	The Guardian, 2001; Waugh, 2005; Goldblatt, 2012
2001	Oldham	Oldham Athletics' hooligan 'firm' – Fine Young Casuals & other local neo-Nazi groups attacked BSAs in the Glodwick area of Oldham.	Kundnani, 2003; Nichollas & Lowles, 2007; Waddington, 2013
2001	Burnley	50+ right-wing extremists, some from Burnley FC's hooligan 'firm' Burnley Suicide Squad carried out overtly racist attacks of BSA in the neighbouring areas.	The Guardian, 2001; Watkinson, 2011
2001	Birmingham	Aston Villa hooligans planned to attack Pakistani supporters at an England versus Pakistan one-day international cricket match. Though the attack did not take place, authorities found text messages between the group planning the attack.	Burdsey 2006; Bentwitz, 2013
2002	Bradford	2 BSAs were attacked by a gang of 30 Middlesbrough FC fans outside Bradford City's Valley Parade stadium during a league match. Though the incident was reported to both the FA and the Police, no one was charged and prosecuted.	Redhead, 2012
2002	Cardiff	Around 200 Leeds FC hooligans travelled by coach to Cardiff. A small number of Cardiff FC attempted to ambush them on their way to the ground. In retaliation, the hooligans racially abused BSA families on the way to the ground. Phrases such as 'paki', 'scum' and 'inbred' were heard.	BBC, 2001
2007	Middlesbrough	Middlesbrough FC striker Mido was verbally attacked every time he touched the ball in a match against rivals Newcastle FC. Chants of 'terrorist bomber' were heard from a large majority of Newcastle FC support. Two days after the incident The Guardian displayed the front-page headline; 'Islamophobia: a new racism in football?'.	Millward, 2008
2013	Bradford	A hijab-wearing Muslim woman was abused at a match between Bradford City and Aston Villa by some of the same support group she was in. Although this happened, she's remembered for hurling insults at Aston Villa's Barry Bannon, thus conforming to the 'English support structure'.	White, 2013
2019	Millwall	Racist chanting from a section of Millwall FC fans during the 2018/19 FA cup competition match between Millwall FC and Everton FC. Fans were heard singing; "I would rather be a Paki than a scouse". Furthermore, an Everton FC fan was stabbed (non-BSA) and a number of coaches carrying Everton FC fans had been damaged.	BBC, 2019; BBC Sport, 2019
2019	London	A West Ham United supporter was heard shouting "Salah, you fucking Muslim, fucking Muslim cunt". To date no arrests have been made.	Steinberg, 2019

Table 3: Documented acts of Islamophobia in English football

Coalescing Islamophobia's influence in English football rests on its ability to transcend active participation: (i) playing the game, and (ii) watching the game (Millward, 2008). In playing the game, Burdsey's (2004a) pioneering work on forms of acceptance and belonging vindicates how BSA football players are forced to assimilate into White hegemonic 'lad' cultures in order to fit in with their team-mates. When it comes to watching the game, Burdsey & Randhawa (2012) accentuate how many football stadiums in Britain continue to be hostile environments for ethnic minority groups, promulgated mainly by football's continued rise in hooliganism (Spaaij, 2005), distinct scenes of 'Whiteness' (Fletcher, 2010). Additional research (e.g. Jaspal & Bains, 1996; Burdsey, 2006; 2007a; Khan, 2010; Kilvington, 2016) have similarly discovered that this is one of the main reasons why BSAs are all too infrequent at live matches. This paradoxically has two major consequences: (i) stadiums and other live matches (i.e. grassroots Sunday League and semi-professional games) are seen as alien and 'unwelcoming', and that fact that (ii) many incidents occur outside stadium groups as there is perceived to be less security, thus oppressors are less likely to be prosecuted (Burdsey & Randhawa, 2012).

2.4.2.1: Superimposed 'black' versus 'brown' dynamic

Amongst the football rhetoric in particular (e.g. McGuire et al, 2001; Kilvington, 2013), it is commonplace for one to simply deny 'race' has an impact on BSA success in English football because other Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) groups have gained inclusionary status (see also Hylton, 2009). Nonetheless, Burdsey (2007a:39) argues such rationale is 'empirically erroneous' as it suggests: (i) inclusion of Black players dispels all racism, and that (ii) the global and commercial sponsorship available to black players suggests consumers are vying for their success. According to the author, such explanations introduce the 'Black/White dualism' (see also Billings & Hundley, 2010) which positions all BAME groups as succeeding and achieving common levels of inclusion because their 'non-Whiteness', or implicitly and explicitly implying English football 'celebrates' its diversity (Lusted, 2009; Hylton, 2010; Campbell, 2016).

The diversification and complexity associated with the success of Black players lends itself to the fact that they were willingly able to overcome the felt-racism experienced. By adopting Fanon's (1967) approach to identity and 'race' as co-constructors of social inclusion, King (2004) developed a concept of 'racialised performance', which demonstrates how Black players were 'pressured' to conform to White masculine norms, standards and values – i.e. understanding their 'roles' when it came to football inclusion.

Research on race and intersectionality also revealed how one's class, masculinity and sexuality were consistently monitored, with their White professional counterparts being the barometer of success, or in other words a role model for how a player should look and act (Kassimeris, 2008). By using the same token of evaluation in contemporary terms, Cleland & Dixon (2015) found BAME communities understand they are 'inferior' to their white counterparts.

Whilst comparable as distinct racialized groups, numerous intellectuals state it would be inaccurate to suggest BSAs are now experiencing similar restrictions and that a blueprint should be followed to 'force' their football inclusion (McGuire et al, 2001; Johal, 2005; Burdsey, 2007a; Ratna, 2014; Kilvington, 2017). However, what is comparable is the fact that BSAs face habitual glorifications of stereotypes which trivialise and marginalise their athletic performances (Saeed & Kilvington, 2011; Peeters & Stekenburg, 2017). Section 2.4.3. reviews such phenomenon.

2.4.3: Stereotyping and its effects of BSA sporting processes

"Stereotypes and assumptions about sporting ability and 'race' are continually employed in cultural representations of sport" (Saeed & Kilvington, 2011:605)

The idea that stereotypes play a habitual role in BSA-sport relations is one which has been dissected, evaluated and analysed by scores of scholarly research (Bains & Johal, 1996; Long et al, 1997; Fleming, 1994; McGuire et al, 2001; Carrington & McDonald, 2002; Johal, 2005; Verma, 2007; Millward, 2008; Middleton, 2009; Hylton, 2008; 2009; Kilvington & Saeed, 2011, Burdsey & Randhawa, 2012; Fletcher, 2012; 2014; Farrington et al, 2012; Kilvington & Price, 2012; Kilvington,

2012; 2013; 2016; 2017; Cleland, 2016; Burdsey, 2004; 2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2015; Ratna, 2010; 2014; Goldblatt, 2012; Friend, 2018; Lawford, 2018). The definition employed by English & English (1958:253) who conceive stereotypes as "a relatively rigid and oversimplified or biased perception or conception of an aspect of reality, especially of persons or social groups" is typical of understanding BSAs and sporting relations.

Blum (2004) postulates how stereotypes make the intangible, tangible. Many have argued that perceiving reality through frames of stereotypes is a normalised structure to human life (Lippmann, 1922; Katz & Braly, 1933; Tajfel, 1981; Cardwell, 1996; Cialdini, 2007; Bar-Tal et al, 2013; Hinton, 2013; Devlin, 2016; Peterson, 2018). Thus, there is a general agreement within dominant discourse as to the key processes afforded to constructions of stereotypes, however there are innate differences in the explanations of how and why they play such a role in societal dynamics (Hinton, 2013). As outlined by Nugent & King (1979:2) and Hinton (2013:7), the process of accessing, incorporating and utilising stereotypes involves three important components:

1. A group of people are identified and categorised by a specific *characteristic*
2. We then attribute a set of *additional characteristics* to the group as a whole
3. On identifying a person as having identifiable and 'meaningful' characteristics, we then attribute the stereotypical characteristic to them

Psychology literature suggest stereotypes infer both incremental and sentimental characteristics which promote either positive or negative associations (Hamilton, 1981; Spears et al, 1997; Scheider, 2005), though the latter exponentially outweighs the former (Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983). Karlins et al (1969) claim stereotypes are expedient and superficial ways to understand and analyse the social word, in addition to being profoundly thought of as 'easy' answers when people do not want to do 'real' thinking and evaluations of specific individuals, groups and communities. Subsequently, it can be argued that such appraisal is a "type of mental shortcut we rely on to obtain information quickly and effortlessly" (Khan et al, 2012:3). Blum (2004) specifies that what is installed as a stereotype does not involve just a

generalisation of an image, but an investment in critical thinking, inasmuch, widely-held and widely-recognised beliefs are exampled in many circumstances: Jewish people as greedy and wealthy (Dinur et al, 1996), Black people as violent, athletic and unintelligent (McGarty et al, 2002; Hylton, 2009), women as overly emotional and irrational (Moe et al, 2015), Asian (Chinese and Japanese) as hard-working and technically savvy (Zhand, 2015) and so forth – all of which are recognisable preconceptions administered by what we see and hear, or what prominent social psychologist Lipmann (1922:133) labels 'pictures in the head'. Blum (2004) takes it a step further and argues that stereotypes have become 'culturally-defined associations' which are readily recognised by both the 'producers' and the 'oppressed'.

Perhaps one of the most precise and prominent points regarding the link between stereotyping of BSAs and their transition into domestic professional football belongs to Burdsey (2007a:17): "sport is viewed as an arena in which British Asians lack both the competence and desire to participate". That is because stereotypes have the ability to transition in-and-out of sport, with its ease-of-entry and lack of scrutiny and inspection (Bernstein & Blain, 2003). Solomos & Back (2001:58) explain that racialized thought processes invoke a range of 'markers of difference' or 'character traits' which are thus exampled through distinct frames of stereotypes. As such, stereotypes can be physical, biological or cultural (Brems & Timmer, 2016). Table 4 (page 52) highlights six of the prominent stereotypes which exist in BSA and sport relations.

Stereotype(s)	Scope of Understanding	Key Authors
Physically Inferior	1. Perception that BSAs are not strong enough to compete in 'physically demanding' sports – conceptually referred to as 'The Asian Frame'. 2. Particular stereotype stems from colonialism and thus transferred to sport engagement and participation processes. 3. Substantiated by media preferences for white and black players: "perceptions are underpinned by a media festishisation of the powerful, athletic African-Caribbean male body".	Jaspal & Bains, 1996; Hoberman, 1997; McGuire et al, 2001; Carrington & McDonald, 2002; Burdsey, 2007a; Kilvington, 2012; 2016; 2017a; 2017b; Lawford, 2018; Mahmood, 2019
Preference for cricket & racquet sports	1. One of the more popular stereotypes which exists in both mainstream and sport realms: the "Asian physiology is seen to be suited for stick sports rather than contact sports". 2. Rests on preferences for: cricket, hockey, badminton and squash 3. Originated by out-group members – perceptions that such sports are preferred in the subcontinent ('South-Asian culture') and have now found its place in BSA diasporic communities. 4. Notion that they are only ever interested in cricket and racquet sports related to conceptions of BSAs possessing a natural ability to willingly 'spin' the ball, as well as being 'wristy' and intelligent enough to appreciate timing and placement, rather than rely on strength and power.	McGuire et al, 2001; Burdsey, 2006; Devan, 2012; Raman, 2015; Kilvington, 2012; 2016; Saeed & Kilvington, 2011
Parental influences	1. Refers to the concept that BSA parents are dominant in decisions and 'overpowering' in their commitments to education. 2. Also declares young BSAs as passive and submissive.	McGuire et al, 2001; Fleming, 2006; Burdsey, 2006
Religion & Culture	1. Perception that BSAs are hyper-religious and hyper-cultural and thus do not have time to attend matches or training sessions – i.e. prayer time happens every evening and weekend. 2. Feel that subcontinent 'religions' promote self-segregation and do want to integrate and assimilate into one of the state's key identity markers – football. 3. Sticking to cultural norms and traditions – i.e. a diet filled with saturated fats, with little awareness of the nutritional needs of an athlete.	Cleland & Cashmore, 2013; Kilvington, 2016; Williams, 2018; Friend, 2018
Gender Roles	1. Specific roles for women and men – women as the family and house carers, whilst men as the workers or 'bread-winners'. 2. Different forms of socialisations – women sticking to close friendship and family ties, whilst men allowed to experience new forms of entertainment.	Ratna, 2007; 2008; 2011; 2014

Table 4: List of stereotypes which exist within the BSA and sport praxis

Mahmood (2019) states football gatekeepers have an array of stereotypes to choose from when it comes to processing the ability of BSAs. However, physiological research highlights how all 'races' are born equal, inasmuch "no one can inherit a superior inborn physiology" (Mason, 2000). This is the case in Burdsey's (2007b) reference to Amir Khan, a Bolton-born boxer who has been described as both an: (i) advert for multiculturalism in sport, and (ii) a clear critique of biological-based stereotypes – the endurance needed to compete at a professional level exceeds that needed in football.

Although stereotyping has been a prevalent occurrence in sport, its appeal on the BSA identity is one which derives and manifests itself through the media and the representations they deploy. Although there have been several arguments made to its influence on BSA role dynamics (e.g. Amin, 2002; Rowe, 2003; Scharrer & Ramasubramanian, 2015; Hylton & Lawrence, 2015), Fleming's (2006:159) articulation of media projecting 'false universalisms' through stereotyping is one which is oft-cited. The author suggests the mainstream are confused and ill-informed of BSA cultures, religions and traditions, thus have to rely on media representations to inform and educate. The following subsection reviews the role of media and the stereotypes they project.

2.4.3.1: The role of media in stereotyping

Scholars of varying disciplines (e.g. media communications, sociology and psychology) all attest to the media's profound influence on introducing and re-introducing stereotypes (Mastro & Tukachinsky, 2012; Johnson & Grier, 2013; Ramasubramanian & Murphy, 2014; Kulaszewicz, 2015). For intellects exploring the manifestations of race, ethnicity and culture in media; varying from the news (see Burrell, 2014), forms of entertainment (such as soap operas and films – see Boodhoo, 2012) and sport (see Sterkenburg et al, 2010), the representations portrayed are extremely effective to the construction and marking of characters and the communities they belong to. Such is the influence of media, it has the ability to "call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements" (Entman, 1993:55). Subsequently, the media is not only a powerful medium which displays

dominant ideals about forms of identity (e.g. race, gender, religion, disability etc.), it has the capacity to shift its representations to meet societal demands (Hall, 1995). Taking this assertion at face value, what can be suggested therefore, is that the media has the capability of creating dominant interpretations of social groups even if they fail to match or recreate real-world social practices. For instance, Sterkenburg et al's (2010) pioneering study exploring the racial categorisations of groups and communities found that the differing positions of prominent Black people in sport media and society differ, inasmuch, global assets in Michael Jordan and Oprah Winfrey are epitomised as 'good Black people', whilst simultaneously 'other' Black communities are deemed as oppressive and unintelligent (see also Copping, 2012).

Within the confines of dissecting the role media plays in stereotyping, seminal work conducted by Solomos (1993:2) demonstrates how widespread reportage of race and culture in the media has highlighted the emergence of 'new' forms of racism (e.g. covert racism) and their "impact on a wide variety of specific national contexts". It is suggested that the British media consistently exoticize BSAs, whereby their positions in prominent media (mainly soaps and film) orientate around their promotion of subcontinent affiliations (i.e. roles with 'Indian' accents or wearing 'traditional' costumes and clothing) (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010). In their analysis of 'Bend it Like Beckham', a film which popularises forms of 'cultural conformity' and 'cultural distinction' through football interaction, Bisin et al (2016:1) identified how it constructs a dominant idealism of what a 'normal' BSA is like in the everyday, and more importantly, their idiosyncratic positions to sport: (i) young BSAs as 'caught between two cultures' (Anwar, 1998), (ii) BSA women as indecisive and (iii) BSA parents as domineering (see also Scraton et al, 2005; Ratna, 2008; 2011). Albeit taking a comedic angle, 'Goodness Gracious Me' (Gillespie, 2003) and 'East is East' (Zapata, 2010) both represent an atypical BSA family which highlights issues of "cultural diversity, difference and hybridity", whilst also raising questions about "identity, belonging and the concept of Englishness" (Zapata, 2010:176). Yet, they all encompass and deliver facets of socio-cultural, gender and religious stereotypes which inform and educate both the in-group and out-group members (Rees, 2012).

This section has critically reviewed the: (i) formulations of stereotyping and how it is actioned, (ii) role of stereotyping in BSA-sport relations and (iii) the role of media when it comes to reinventing character traits. The literature demonstrates how

negative stereotypes are one of the leading causes of BSA-football exclusions. The fact that advertising representations have been relatively less researched is surprising given the heavy involvement of advertisers in football. Thus, the next section focuses specifically on advertising representations and their influence on social processes and dynamisms: especially as "market-mediated images dominate cityscapes and mediascapes, sharing people's perceptions of themselves and others" (Gopaldas & Deroy, 2015:1).

2.5: Advertising representations

> "It is now recognised that we are living in an era of consumerism where we are increasingly encouraged to look to the marketplace to find meaning in our lives and to use products, services and brands to define ourselves in relation to others" (Saren et al, 2019:1).

It is not out of the ordinary to suggest that advertising representations have an influential role in shaping our society – the way we see, think, act and understand (Pollay, 1986). Its conception resides in its ability to "attract attention, change attitudes, and to command our behaviour" (Pollay, 1986: 18). Olivotti's (2014:475) explanation offers a direct reasoning: "advertisements create associations which help the viewer to identify him or herself with the image being depicted". The significance of advertising representations has, over the last two decades, been introduced to inclusion/exclusion agendas by several scholars (i.e. Ganahl & Arbuckle, 2001; Lunga, 2002; Yang & Oliver, 2004; Kearney et al, 2016; Loebner, 2019; Saren et al, 2019; Gong, 2020) in regards to socio-cultural manifestations, consumer activities, spending habits and (inter)community relations.

Pileliene & Grigaliunaite (2016) state that advertising representations are complex and multifaceted, yet extremely effective in creating a lived mechanism of impression, interpretation and categorisation. Through this mechanism, the significance of advertising representations has been discussed, dissected, assessed and evaluated across a number of dominant disciplines: social sciences, health, psychology, consumption, communication, race, ethnicity and culture. Anecdotally

speaking therefore, discussions and debates have varied across time, context and segmentation.

In aligning with the research topic, the literature in this section is reviewed across four sections: section 2.5.1 explores literature which evaluates the role of advertising in defining the 'self'. Section 2.5.2 explores literature surrounding the concept of race when it comes to advertising consumption. Section 2.5.3 explores literature surrounding cultural production and how the politics of representations need to be further analysed. Section 2.5.4 reviews literature on complexity of culture when it comes to advertising consumption. Section 2.5.5 reviews literature on the cultivation model which suggests media influences and affects behaviours and decisions. Finally, Section 2.5.6 reviews literature on sport sponsorship, in particular how sport is used in advertising. Combined, these sections provide the reader with an insight into the complexity and influence of advertising representations which is an important, yet overlooked aspect in the study of football inclusion/exclusion.

2.5.1: The role of advertising in defining the 'self'

Several social scientists (e.g. Belk & Pollay, 1985; Pollay, 1986; Ritson & Elliot, 1999; Bartholomew, 2010; Knoll, 2015) argue that advertising influences self-definition and social identification – how people perceive the 'self', what they perceive as the 'self' and how we perceive others. Advertising representations are thus persuasive in nature as they have the ability to control and regulate the lived reality of the 'self'. In postmodern thought, it is readily accepted that the 'self' is developed by responding to events, knowledge, relationships with people, and other stimuli (i.e. advertising), in a constant, but dynamic social process (Bartholomew, 2010). When it comes to evaluating the relationship between advertisements and the 'self', research has tended to lean towards the notion that representations play a crucial role in shaping our sense of who we are, what we (dis)like, how we (re)act our interpretations and our choices (Brooks, 2009).

Within identity and consumption literatures, articulations of self-definition and social identification stem from a complex and multifarious understanding of social identities, or 'self-concepts' (Belk & Pollay, 1985; Pollay, 1986; Zinkman, 1991; Kim

et al, 2016). These are developed and implemented via comparisons between what is being represented and the perceptions of the 'self' (Sotnikova, 2010). Moore & Lee (2013) explicate how advertisements encourage us, as influenced beings, to define and refine ourselves via its representations. Phenomena such as marketplace relationships - i.e. the 2011 'brand riots' in London (Saren et al, 2019), level of individual and community/inter-community relations - Islamic consumerism (Suerdem, 2013), and self-awareness and education (Pollay, 1986) all attest to the importance placed on advertising representations and the (inter)actions they summon. These (inter)actions are thus guided by the relevant social identities that constitute understandings of self-concepts depicted through advertising stimuli and the situations and experiences they invoke (Chang, 2010). Today, it is readily accepted that consumers are far more skilled at noting, interpreting and articulating the social identities projected in advertising representations (Schroeder, 2002; Schroeder & Borgerson, 2005; Dimofte et al, 2015).

The general advertising framework suggests that the spokesperson(s) or actor(s) featured in advertising is a clear marker for inclusion, acceptance and approval (Kozar & Damhorst, 2008). Although there have been many studies dissecting this phenomenon, the fashion marketplace is one which is heavily recited. Multiple studies (i.e. O'Cass, 2000; Andersson et al, 2004; Phillips & McGuire, 2010) evaluate how the fashion marketplace relies on advertisements to categorise the 'self' into distinct; 'included' and 'excluded' classifications. Essentially, the viewer's realisation that their membership is either 'included' or 'excluded' will emerge from a comparison of identities being displayed, whereby the relevant social identity (i.e. race, skin tone, age, language, hair colour, build etc.) is salient to the actor(s) or spokesperson(s) featured in the advertising representation (Dimofte et al, 2015).

Social psychologists researching the impact of advertising representations define this phenomenon as 'media portrayed idealised images' (Monro & Huon, 2005). Importantly, research focused on the media portrayed idealised images concept has tended to lean towards it producing negative definitions of the 'self' (Yu et al, 2011). Wan et al (2013) discovered how interpretations of 'idealised body images' in the fashion marketplace are in fact dependent on the mechanism in which they are represented. For instance, Wan et al (2013) identified that when represented blatantly (i.e. when social identities are interpreted as 'forced'), consumers have the tendency

to respond negatively to the advertisement, whereas when represented subtly (i.e. when social identities are displayed organically), consumers were far more inclined to respond positively. This discovery is backed by Kamath (2016) who suggests that although consumers are now far more aware of the significance of how representations develop and influence the 'self', there is still a contemporary need to evaluate: (i) what social agents influence representations, and (ii) how sections of the community cope, interpret and respond to what is being represented.

When it comes to the influence of advertising representations to self-definition and social identification, Schroeder & Borgerson's (2005) seminal works on the ethics of representations identifies several key facets to consider: (i) there is a consistent focus on image – over and above function, in that images play pedagogical as well as persuasive roles (Schroeder & Borgerson, 2005:579); (ii) advertising practitioners remain 'morally myopic' with very few ethical concerns considered (Schroeder & Borgerson, 2005:579) – although this sentiment is now being challenged with society now becoming more away of representations (Kamath, 2016); (iii) visual images exist within a distinct socio-legal environment (Schroeder & Borgerson, 2005:580) whereby pictures cannot be held to be true or false; (iv) advertising images frequently stand in for experience (Schroeder & Borgerson, 2005:581) – especially influential when little is known about roles and scenarios; and (v) consumers interpret and make sense of visual images in various ways, many of which "are automatic or without awareness" (Schroeder & Borgerson, 2005:582).

The social role of advertising in regards to self-definition and social identification is thus reflected in how the 'self' is perceived, conceived, and in some cases, how one justifies oneself to others (Zinkhan & Hong, 1991). The idea that distinct social identity characteristics (i.e. ethnicity, gender, hair colour) play a superimposed role in how one is represented, how one perceives oneself and how one is perceived amongst others, is one which has gained notable traction in recent years. In regards to this study's focus, subsection 2.5.2 critically evaluates literatures focused on race.

2.5.2: The significance of race as a market icon

The influence of race on consumers' perceptions of advertising representations has received considerable attention over the past three decades. It was thus revealed that race plays a key role in the functioning of marketplace consumption, insofar people are now, more than ever, conscious of what is being displayed, depicted and represented (Whittler, 1989; Bristor et al, 1995; Feagin & Bennefield, 2014; Grier et al, 2017). With this in mind, a 2011 policy report aligned with the Black Lives Matter movement stated that there is now a call for media representations to lead the way when it comes to challenging race-based socio-political rhetoric (TheOpportunityAgenda, 2011).

One argument which is promoted by Grier et al (2017) is to identify race as a 'market icon'. This is because race is considered to be a definitive characteristic: high visibility and divisive in nature. It also is commonly interpreted as more than one's skin colour, insofar it is regularly cross-affiliated with ethnic, social and religious groups, though the latter is oftentimes racialized (Taylor, 1997; Silverstein, 2005; Golash-Boza, 2006; Grier et al, 2017). Therefore, the concept of race also includes a socially constructed belief that individuals can be hierarchically categorised into distinct and exclusive groups – based primarily on an unchangeable characteristic which influences ideals of physical and mental talents, cultural traits and social significance (Golash-Boza, 2016).

When it comes to evaluating how the race of a model(s)/spokesperson(s) in advertising representations influences and effects consumers' both in purchase intentions and 'self-concepts', there have been numerous studies across time, context and geography. The consensus amongst these is a biblical assumption that BAME consumers will (re)act positively to advertising representations which feature a similar BAME model/spokesperson (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001). On the contrary, Brumbaugh (2009) argues that this assumption is, in fact, far too simplistic, explicating that there are other social identities, situational traits and group associations (i.e. generation, acculturation status and racial membership) which influence how BAME consumers respond to advertising representations.

One identity construct which has seen a spike in research is multi-racial identity. Harrison et al (2017) evaluated multi-racial identity in the US and found that

marketers are beginning to see the advantages of representing a complex identity such as the multi-racial make-up in regards to spending habits and inciting social and ideological change (see also Johnson & Grier, 2015). The scholars admit that "mixed-race models have been largely underrepresented and under-researched in the context of marketing communication" (Harrison et al, 2017:515), yet highlight that multi-racial marketing strategies utilise mixed-race representations as 'cultural currency', whereby the multi-racial identity is positioned as: (i) a new, inclusive beauty standard, and (ii) a way of educating society in a bid to dismantle stereotypes and racial divides (p.516). Another example is presented by Johnson (2013) who states, in her analysis of consumer identity and advertising effectiveness in post-apartheid South-Africa, that although a BAME viewer may respond more favourably to advertising featuring in-group models (versus advertisements without in-group models), a BAME middle-class professional tends to respond more favourably to advertisements with BAME middle-class professional models (versus advertisements featuring BAME models from other socioeconomic segments).

Another variable which demonstrates the complexity of race in advertising is a concept developed by Forehand & Deshpande (2001) labelled 'Ethnic Self-Awareness' (ESA): "a temporary state during which a person is more sensitive to his or her ethnicity" (p.337). In this respect, race and ethnicity is oftentimes intertwined in an amalgamated construct which explores BAME people's consumption patterns (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001). The scholars argue that ESA "occurs when a person is prompted to categorise him- or herself along ethnic criteria" (p. 337). Fundamentally, ESA is framed by three distinct characteristics.

First is the different variables we each hold in regards to one's strength of their individual ethnic identification (Forehand & Deshpande: 337). Research has discovered that strength of ethnic identification affects the amount of attention people give to ethnic information, the chances of them purchasing or adopting a product or service, and the responses to advertising which represent ethnic actors/spokespersons (Deshpande et al, 1986; Joseph, 2014; DeBenedictis, 2018; Licsandru & Cui, 2019). Although a correlation should exist between strength of ethnic identification and people's ESA, Forehand & Deshpande (2001) state that the two are mutually exclusive, insofar strength of ethnic identification is associated to people's wider sense of their ethnicity (i.e. consumption patterns), whereas ESA is the momentary

awareness of one's ethnic group membership. Second is the ethnic composition of one's social environment and social experiences (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001). Ethnic communities are thus more likely to consume products, services and hobbies when their social context includes people of the same ethnicity (Jospeh, 2014). Significantly, Forehand & Deshpande (2001) discovered that even people with weak ESA interpret advertising representations favourably when a same-ethnicity actor/spokesperson is present. Third is exposure to ethnic and cultural primes (verbal or visual cues which draws attention to one's ethnicity and/or culture). There is the argument that these primes influence ESA by encouraging subconscious ethnic processing and categorisation, thus intensifying affiliation to an ethnic group (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001). Table 5 (page 62) presents the meaning and explanation of ESA and ethnic primes when it comes to advertising.

Characteristic	Meaning & explanation within advertising	Key Author(s)
Ethnic Self-Awareness (ESA)	1. Temporary state during which a person(s) is more sensitive to information related to his or her own community. 2. Relative to (i) levels of ethnic identification or (ii) 'felt-ethnicity' – the higher oneself identifies with his/her ethnicity, the more they recognise/react to ethnic stimuli. 3. ESA occurs when consumers are prompted to categorise themselves (i.e. along ethnic and racial criteria), then assessing the relative similarity/dissimilarity of what they perceive of as their 'self'. 4. Targeted advertising relies heavily on inducing ESA amongst consumers to convey a message, product or service. 5. In contemporary and dominant discourse, ethnicity and race are two characteristics which are now scrutinised and, in some cases, enforced. 6. The 'ethnic composition' of a person(s) social environment influences perceptions and actions of advertising representations. Those with higher levels of ESA are more likely to be ethnically salient.	Forehand & Deshpande, 2001; Jackson & Andrews, 2005; Burgos, 2008; Dimofte et al, 2013
Primes	1. Primes are specific cues in the environment that cause a particular characteristic of ourselves to become salient – i.e. race, gender, culture, hair colour, disability etc. 2. Within advertising, utilising ethnic and cultural primes positively impact ethnic minority consumptions patterns. The more primes used increases advertising compatibility. 3. Evidence suggests factors such as one's generation status (i.e. 1st or 2nd generation) has an influence on recognition of prime: (i) grown up in different social environments; thus (ii) likely to be dependent on different social diets (i.e. language, clothing, food, mentality etc.). 4. Within advertising representations, ethnic primes tend to include cultural affiliations – languages, race of models/spokespeople, clothing, professions etc.	Forehand & Deshpande, 2001; Forehand et al, 2002; Dimofte et al, 2003; Broderick et al, 2011; Lenior et al, 2013; Khan et al, 2015

Table 5: Characteristics of ESA and ethnic & cultural primes in advertising (compiled by Author, 2019)

Although existing knowledge surrounding race as a market icon is now beginning to transform the narrative of acceptance/rejection, inclusivity and opportunity in advertising-focused literatures (Grier & Deshpande, 2001; Grier & Brumbaugh, 2007; Mastro & Sturn, 2010; Jones, 2010), there is little evidence available which examines advertising's influence on diasporic South-Asian communities. Shankar (2013) has, however, identified how advertising in America has begun to use ethnic primes to intensify ESA in American South-Asians. The researcher suggests that advertising executives have strategically used popular South-Asian sports celebrities such as Sachin Tendulkar, Shoaib Malik and Sania Mirza as ethnic primes to create a 'model consumer' (those who are 'reformed' to consume popular American pastimes; Shankar, 2012) as "diasporic affiliation to particular sports, both as spectators and as participants, is integral to processes of identity formation, generational shifts, and racialisations" (p.235). In this case, the utilisation of ethnic primes in advertising has strengthened inclusivity, acceptance and opportunity (Shankar, 2013) for a community which is oftentimes categorised as isolated, segregated and culturally non-committed (Saran, 2015).

The concept of race and ethnicity has been heavily explored within sociological and consumption literatures, however advertisements which once drew attention to race and ethnicity by simply adding ethnic model(s) and spokespeople(s) may no longer be as effective in today's multicultural environment (see Forehand & Deshpande, 2001; Jamal, 2003; Kipnis et al, 2014; Demangeot et al, 2018). It is thus important to review how culture is defined, refined and produced. Therefore, section 2.5.3 explores literature surrounding the politics of representations, and in particular the cultural production of race and (in)equality.

2.5.3: Cultural production of race and (in)equality

According to Saha (2018), the study of race and media has yet to reach the heights that other areas of socio-cultural phenomenon has hit. For instance, media's influence on body image (e.g. Franchina & LaCoco, 2018) and media bias (e.g. VanDerMeer et al, 2020) have both been extensively researched over several decades. However, when race and media is researched, it tends to be dominated by studies of representations (Saha, 2018). Research on representations thus provides readers with a comprehensive insight into the destructive and divisive ways ethnic minority groups (in particular) are portrayed, oppressed and neglected in popular culture and news through the persistent use of stereotyping, demonising, mocking, exoticising and de-humanising the racial identities of minority groups (Mastro, 2009; Dukes & Gaither, 2017). Subsequently, there is an agreement amongst race and media literatures that the media is governed on a racialised continuum, whereby meanings ascribed to people are dependent on their racial, and subsequent categorised identities (Mastro, 2009).

Saha's (2018) seminal work on media representations brings forth a different, more nuanced understanding of race and media – the politics associated to representations. Instead of placing emphasis on representations as per se, Saha (2018) argues that cultural production in society, its mechanisms, processes and procedures are in fact, producing oppressive ideologies that are shaped by capitalism and legacies of empire (Saha, 2018). It then becomes not a question of how cultural industries represent race, but how cultural industries make race (Saha, 2018). There are several key examples of ideological production within cultural industries.

One which has featured heavily across socio-cultural and communication literatures when it comes to race, racism and ethnicity is news media (Mythen et al, 2009). Husband (2005) suggests news media creates a racialisation of events where identity characteristics of those who are committing acts of crime, violence and aggression are thus transferred to audiences. For instance, news stories which covered muggings in the 1970s shaped the way society became hyper-aware of racial consciousness, insofar 'mugger' became synonymous with the 'young Black male' (Hall et al, 1983). Consequently, the political discourse, in an era of Thatcherism, was vindicated on a racialised continuum where ethnic minorities were labelled in news media as 'problems' in Britain (Durham, 1991). A similar case can be made of news media's

coverage of the Stephen Lawrence murder case, whereby the "media created public narratives that emphasise not only the tragic distance between is and ought but the possibility of historically overcoming it" (Cottle, 2004:50).

Another example of this 'mediatised' way of operating (Cottle, 2004) is the rampant Islamophobia experienced as a result of 9/11 and beyond. Allen (2010) argues that the media influences consumption of those perceived to be 'Muslim', inasmuch Islamophobia is not restricted to explicit and direct relationships of power and domination, but to the less explicit and everyday activities that are encountered in classrooms, offices, factories, supermarkets and so forth. Thus, the 'modes of operation', through which meaning is sustained and perpetuated needs to be critically examined (Allen, 2010: 188).

Another industry which influences cultural production is music (Saha, 2018). For instance, when it comes to rap and R&B music, Childs (2014) suggests that images and sounds dictate youth belief systems. Prevalent social themes in rap music videos include violence, migogyny, economic deprivation, racial injustices, social isolation, dysfunctional families, materialism, alcohol and drug consumption and deviancy (Peterson et al, 2007). Furthermore, Black female artists are more likely than White female artists to wear provocative clothing and exhibit qualities of sexualised objectification (Frisby & Aubrey, 2012), whilst music videos present Black men as "dark-skinned aggressive thugs" (Dixon, 2002:246). Such associations are thus transmitted to wider Black communities (Fried, 2003; Peterson et al, 2007; Childs, 2014), with the ability for wider Black communities to control its mechanisms and subsequent influence on social dynamics thus limited (Oliver et al, 2002).

Cinema and film also have similar principles in the way they (re)create hyper-cultural stereotypes associated with people of South-Asian heritage. Burdsey (2004a:758) labels this as 'Indian fascinaton'. Popular films such as Damien O'Donnel's East is East, Gurinder Chadha's Bend it like Beckham and Anil Gupta's Goodness Gracious Me and Citizen Khan to name a few, highlight issues of cultural diversity, difference and hybridity, whilst also raising awareness about identity, belonging and the concept of Englishness (Zapata, 2010). When looking at Bend it like Beckham for example, Abel-Shield & Kalman-Lamb (2015) state that although the film presents a feminist veneer, "underneath it lurks a troubling reassertion of the value of chastity,

masculinity and patriarchy" (p.142). Such films thus provide an instructive case study to the cultural production of BSAs as they simultaneously celebrate and oppose the existence of hyper-cultural and hyper-religious tendencies (Abel-Shield & Kalman-Lamb (2015), or in other words, the 'exotica-fanatica' of BSAs (Hutnyk, 2005).

Sport media is also known to be a producer of racial inequalities. Although the world of sports is often seen as a "bastion of fair play and equal opportunity" which is thus considered to be a "world free of racism" (Hogarth, 2009:90), its media exhibits the very inequalities it has worked so hard to get rid of (Peterson et al, 2007). When dissecting the National Basketball League (NBA), Neuhaus (2009) identifies how an image crises manifested in 1984 which was mainly caused by disenfranchised White fans whom could not identify with Black players and perceived the NBA as "drug infested and too-black" (Kiersh, 1992:28). Subseqently, Black athletes, in a sport controlled and consumed by White people attempted to highlight the race-based power relations, which according to Hall (2004), is often interpreted as an attack on the entire hierarchy and the 'unwritten' set of rules which manifest within it. Hall (1989) thus argues that the media creates, recreates and transforms ideologies, but also the concept of race.

The complexity associated to the cultural productions of race and (in)equality is the introduction of technology and this pioneering new form of representation which it brings – self-representation (Dobson, 2016; Rettberg, 2017). With the advent of social media, where the focus is on self-expression and image, individuals, groups and communities are now, more than ever, capable of constructing self-generating online personas which are open-to-all (Dobson, 2016). With these visual and textual expressions, people are able to foster a narrative of the self (their lifestyles, ideals, power, consumption patterns, beliefs etc.) to a variety of audiences (Dobson, 2016). Cover (2012) states that this 'new' way of operating should be viewed as 'identity performance', providing often-marginalised communities the power and encouragement to challenge macro, meso and micro racialisations which have been perpetuated through institutional narratives. This is particularly the case for young ethnic minority people (Mainsah, 2011) and young women (Dobson, 2015) who have the abilities and opportunities to present a fluid identity which promotes multiple belongings, multiple skills, multiple cultural affiliations and multiple hobbies and pastimes.

Although racialised processes are evident amongst the abovementioned media formats, there has been a recent surge in adopting media representations to challenge and attack dominant racialised ideologies (Saha, 2018). Alsutany (2012) discovered how representations of Arabs and Muslims on US network television as 'sympathetic' characters were introduced to combat post-9/11 ideologies amongst the American population. However, Alsutany (2012) argues that this introduction was to project the US as a country which is being proactive in its fight to challenge Islamophobic ideologies, whereas, in reality, oppressive policies and lived experiences still exist (Alsutany, 2012).

Evidently, the cultural production of race and inequality has intrinsic associations to the politics of representations. These politics thus frame the existence of racialisations by perpetuating a narrative which shows an inclusion/exclusion, acceptance/rejection and superior/inferior dynamic. The next question thus naturally leads to how culture is represented in advertising representations. Section 2.5.4 reviews literature surrounding this topic.

2.5.4: Representing Culture in Advertising

Various arguments have been made which suggest that advertisements not only (re)enforce values, rules, roles and beliefs in social environments, but also play a significant role in acknowledging, interpreting and evaluating culture (Jafari & Goulding, 2012; Olivotti, 2016; Demangeot et al, 2018). Cross et al (2017:460) state that through advertising, "consumers gain an understanding of symbolism, role and evolution of significant cultural events, rituals, and related consumer behaviours". Thus, advertisements contribute to social and cultural dynamics which allow representations to either mirror society or distort it, and as a result, has the ability to (re)enforce particular values and principles (i.e. stereotyping) of cultural groups (Pollay & Gallagher, 1990).

Representing culture in advertising manifests itself by including certain symbols and/or primes (Lenior et al, 2013; Olivotti, 2016). This is typically achieved across two situational categorisation: including cultural events (i.e. Thanksgiving, Oktoberfest, Diwali etc.) to illustrate acceptance and inclusion, or through a complex

process of social environmental happenings (i.e. active multiculturalism where there it is an expectation to represent culture) (Cross et al, 2017). For example, Cross et al (2017) explored how the Thanksgiving event (the annual celebration which highlights the harvesting of crops in the US and Canada) is used strategically as a cultural prime in a bid to create/renew certain brand narratives which are intended to "educate, establish, shape and reinforce consumer perceptions" (p.347). This, in turn, legitimises cultural allegiance to the event and the brand. Similarly, Lenior et al (2013) discovered how advertisements in the Netherlands saw an increase in Chinese cultural symbols in a bid to improve Chinese tourism. Such is the significance of using cultural primes which reflect, and in some cases direct people and communities away from socio-political problems (as seen in Alsuntacy's 2012 study), that it is now regarded as an explicit strategy labelled as: 'socialising agents' (Cross et al, 2017), 'socio-cultural transformations' (Olsen & Gould, 2008) or 'cultural proliferations' (Jafari & Goulding, 2013).

When it comes to socio-cultural happenings, today's multicultural marketplace (Jamal, 2001; Demangeot et al., 2015) has proven to be a complex and multifaceted dynamic for advertisers. This is because the marketplace now includes individuals from diverse cultural groups – groups that share similar beliefs, behaviours, objects and other characteristics, but are surrounded by different distinguishable social identity aspects such as religion, race/ethnicity, nationality etc. (Kipnis et al, 2013). Through culture, it is readily accepted that individuals and groups define themselves, conform and contribute to society's shared values (Fanon, 1967; Sautman, 2004). However, within the dynamic of sharing a state or geographic region, inter-cultural exchange will inevitably occur, thus the differences and tensions or commonalities and cohesions will be pronounced (Barrett, 2012).

Despite the rise in research which highlights the value of diversity and inclusion (e.g. Kochan et al, 2003; Tienda, 2013; Bernstein & Bilimoria, 2013), there are many modern societies facing increased multicultural tensions – tensions which effect community cohesion and societal well-being. According to Foucault (1976), multicultural tensions arise because of inequalities in: (i) power and (ii) privilege. Power is conveyed and operationalised through social norms whereby cultural differences/characteristics (i.e. community relations) are routinely presented in insider/outsider or included/excluded categorisations (i.e. characteristics outside of

societal norms which prohibit inclusion). Others (e.g. Wax, 1971; Menge, 2017) postulate that power is a central concept in social phenomena that is reinforced and re-appropriated through institutional forces (i.e. political discourse and governance). Privilege is a notion which tends to be aligned with various cultural markers (i.e. race/ethnicity, gender, age, class, religion and (dis)ability) (see Kearney et al, 2016; Johnson et al, 2017). Thus, multicultural tensions arise when one particular group uses their distinctive cultural characteristics to dominate another. Instances such as the post-Brexit hate rhetoric, which questions national loyalty and consumption compatibility of several ethnic groups (Weaver, 2018), how one's class/caste status (pre)determines their social position, thus the opportunity they receive (Sankaran et al, 2017), or the racialised 'brand riots' which occurred in 2011 in London and other major cities (see Saren et al, 2019:1).

Marketers are critical in shaping the perceptions and interactions between individuals, communities and organisations. Demongeot et al (2018:2) give an operational definition to their influence: "through their actions, marketers can either further exacerbate multicultural tensions or support successful multicultural engagement". In Britain, there have been several clear examples of multicultural tensions and multicultural engagement in recent years. When it comes to multicultural tensions, the 2017 Tesco Christmas advertisement which featured a Muslim family celebrating Christmas was declared 'unfit for purpose' by a small minority, thus calls to boycott the store arose (Belam, 2017). In contrast, a 2019 anti-Semitism marketing campaign by Chelsea FC was seen as an influential illustration of multicultural engagement (Harris, 2019).

At this conjuncture it is important to define multicultural advertising. Johnson & Grier's (2011:236) definition is widely adopted: "multicultural advertising is defined as a type of advertising that aims to simultaneously reach culturally diverse target audiences through the use of cultural representations (e.g. ad sources, symbols, traditions, beliefs, values, attitudes and/or objects) from multicultural backgrounds".

Although the marketplace is ever-changing, Demangeot et al (2018) argue that cultural meanings/markers are (re)shaped in interactions between macro (i.e. political and social ideologies), meso (i.e. family and community) and micro (i.e. the self) levels. Thus, multicultural tensions or multicultural engagements can occur at the

micro level (e.g. categorisation of the 'self' against others), the meso level (e.g. inter-community interaction) and the macro level (e.g. a particular ideology which excludes an ethnic group). Though Saren et al's (2019) research on marketplace exclusion does not specify their use of micro, meso and macro marketplace forces, their findings amount to the need to evaluate: (i) individual positions (micro level), (ii) community interpretations (meso level) and (iii) 'otherness', 'colourism' and 'Whiteness' (macro level).

Consequently, it is understood that power and privilege play a role in creating and/or reinforcing ideologies and narratives at the macro, meso and micro levels of societal interaction. Section 2.5.5 explores the concept of cultivation in regards to its significance on inclusion/exclusion dynamics in the multicultural marketplace.

2.5.5: Cultivation as a process to inclusion/exclusion

Gerbner & Gross (1967) advocate the use of cultivation as an exploratory concept which evaluates processes of inclusion and exclusion through media consumption. The concept suggests that "consumers' perceptions of reality are heavily influenced by mediated depictions" (Bailey, 2006:88), and exposure to media over time subtly 'cultivates' perceptions of self-definition and social identification by creating long-term associations, processes and meanings (see also Gerbner et al, 1979).

According to Gerbner (1969:66), the media, and in particular television media, was a domain which dominated our 'symbolic environment'. By cultivating a sense of who we are suggests that one's entire value system (ideologies, assumptions, beliefs, images and perspectives) is formulated, to a great extent, by television representations (Potter, 1994; 2014). Mosharafa (2015:24) argues that television portrays "hidden and pervasive values, rules and morals for what is right, what is important, and what is appropriate in a social discourse in an invisible manner". Similarly, other scholars have likened it to a 'world in itself', whereby actions, (in)actions, choices and justifications are all cultivated by the depictions represented in what we see and hear (McQuail & Windal, 1993:100). Nonetheless, advertisements are regulated by the

Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) which offer a mixture of legislation, common law, regulatory control and self-regulation insights (ASA, 2019)

Part of cultivating inclusion/exclusion through media is incumbent on the fact that television portrayals regularly reflect the social changes occurring in society and, as a result, act as strong cultural indicators (Shanahan, 2004). Thus, movies, programmes and advertising tends to be, according to Mosharafa (2015), reactive to social trends when it comes to acceptance of minority groups' in multicultural marketplaces. For instance, 'Bend It Like Beckham' and 'East Is East' were both was seen as a pioneering tribute to the complexity surrounding acculturation for BSAs during a time when ethnic acculturation was in question (Bisin et al, 2010). There is, however, the possibility of public backlash by trying to 'force' and thus over-represent depictions of minority groups which leads to negative responses (Shanahan, 2004). One example is actor Lawrence Fox's criticism of the inclusion of a Sikh soldier in the British war film 1917, stating there was an element of 'forced diversity' (Stolworthy, 2020; BBC, 2020).

Linking to social identification in multicultural marketplaces, Bucy (2013) highlights that repeated exposure to images which promotes acceptance/inclusion and rejection/exclusion leads to consumers' opinions, perceptions and expectations being framed by what they see. Representations can thus be positive – cultivating a sense of inclusion (e.g. Tommy Hilfiger's 'Moving Forward Together' advertising which celebrates differences in our identities - Drohan, 2020), or negative – cultivating a distorted, non-factual and stereotypical reality which is thus part of the lived experience of the rejected/excluded (e.g. Huggies 'Dad Test' which was banned by the Advertising Standards Authority for its role in perpetuating the notion that fathers do not have the capabilities of looking after their children - Watson, 2018) (Bucy, 2013).

Of paramount importance then is Reeves & Nass's (1998) ascertain that human beings did not evolve to automatically grasp what is portrayed as false or misleading, rather the authors endorse the fact that identity, (inter-)group relations and other facets of existence are continually being transformed by fictional and stereotypical images, or as Gerbner et al (1986:27) postulate as our "'symbolic reality' versus our 'objective reality'". Thus, within multicultural societies, cultivation is a key component to social

change at the macro, meso and micro levels for oppressed and often-isolated groups and communities (Li, 2016).

When it comes to processing the role of sport in media, the existence and influence of sport sponsorship is one which has been extensively covered overt the past two decades. Section 2.5.6 reviews literature on sport sponsorship and the role advertising plays in this matrix.

2.5.6: Sport sponsorship: role of advertising in contemporary practice

The ever-growing commercial value of sport has meant organisations are vying to be associated with its space (Chadwick & Arthur, 2008; Smith & Stewart, 2014; Shilbury et al, 2020). Although there are individualised differences between what a sponsor wants to achieve, the core aim however, is to increase brand awareness (Beech et al, 2004; Beech & Chadwick, 2007; Chadwick et al, 2015). Thus, the consensus amongst many sport marketers is that: using and connecting with sport is one of the most powerful marketing tools available for organisations (Schwartz & Hunter, 2008; Cornwell, 2008; Lacey et al, 2015; Jensen & Cornwell, 2018). In short, it is common knowledge that "sport is big business for sponsors" (Dufer, 2017:67) as it offers a unique platform to target consumers (Schlossberg, 1999; Beech & Chadwick, 2007; Cottingham & Peter-Wagner, 2018; Schmidt et al, 2018).

Whilst advertising and marketing of sports leagues, teams, celebrity athletes, and other economically-incentivised commodities associate to sport are significant, Jackson (2012) argues that the use of advertising dominates contemporary sport-to-consumer matrix: the channel of communication within popular culture. The author subscribes to the fact that the "economic significance of promotional culture, and the value of sport within it, is overwhelming" (Jackson, 2012:101). The global sponsorship market grew from $3.9 billion in 1984 (Lagae, 2003), to $62.7 billion in 2018 (Statista, 2018). Whilst these figures refer to all forms of sponsorship, Critchlow (2015) notes that 'sport' is one of the fastest growing sectors in Britain, representing a 9.1% annual growth in sport sponsorship, in addition to it now being recognised as a £20 billion (and growing) industry.

Importantly, sponsorship is not only an integral part of wider promotional culture which seeks to communicate particular corporate identities and brands, it also accounts as a communicator of symbolic and ideological content of a specific culture; "its ethos, texture, and constitution as a whole" (Wernick, 1991:vii). As documented by Jackson & Andrews (2005), sport is a valuable cultural commodity within the sport/media/promotional culture nexus for multiple reasons: (i) attracts large and enthusiastically devoted audiences (Meenaghan, 2001), (ii) translates across cultural and linguistic audiences (Jackson, 2012), (iii) involves expressions of emotional drama (Hanin, 2007), (iv) offers consumers' flexibility in regards to modes and degrees when conforming to certain 'identities' (Jackson, 1988), (v) serves as a marker of national/global identity (Jackson, 2012), (vi) 'ideal' foundation of promotional culture, as it mirrors contemporary idealised versions of capitalism – celebrating competition, efficiency, winning, technology and meritocracy (Jackson, 2012), and (vii) is intrinsically associated with positive characteristics only sport can provide and invoke (i.e. positivity, friendliness, fair-play, health and nationhood) (Rowe, 1996; Amis & Cornwell, 2006). Combined, these characteristics make sport "a powerful vehicle for transnational corporations and their allied advertising and promotional armatures… located within and across a complex and increasingly global system of intertextual promotional cultures including: movies, art, fashion, music and politics" (Jackson et al, 2005:8).

Having highlighted literatures surrounding the nature in which sport sponsorship is growing, the subsection 2.5.6.1 reviews how English football, in particular, is considered one of the most attractive sports spectrums in the world for brands and marketing executives to consider.

2.5.6.1: Sponsorship and advertising in English football

Rohde & Breuer (2016) suggest there are two main reasons why the English football leagues are thriving both nationally and internationally: (i) the ever-growing sponsorship deals, (ii) its history and heritage, and (iii) its ability to create a product which is not only entertaining, but also has deep-rooted emotional attachments to its consumers. According to financial analysts Deloitte (2018), the European football market is worth an estimated £21.9 billion, with the English Premier League (EPL) leading the way in a new era of financial sustainability.

Within sport marketing discourse in particular, arguments have been made which highlight the use of advertisements in English football, and the fact that advertising executives can display these advertisements in print, television, radio and across social media (Mullin et al, 2014; Shilbury et al, 2020). Sosnovkikh (2010) also identified that advertising executives capture the interest of sport consumers pre, during and post matches, thus maximising their reach (see also Beech et al, 2004).

Although directly sponsoring a sport or a sporting event is considered to be one of the most sought after positions for brands, Pegoraro et al (2010:1454) identified another form: utilising sport as a 'corporate marketing tool' to promote implicit and explicit associations. By incorporating certain associations of sport in advertising (i.e. watching in the stand, buying a product or playing on a pitch), advertising executives have the ability to invoke emotional responses related to behaviour, motivation, lived realities and purchase intensions (Pegoraro et al, 2010).

It is the consensus amongst sport marketers that sport is a proven arena for organisations to align their brands with in a bid to present an image of inclusion, prosperity, accessibility, health, wellbeing and harmony (Beech et al, 2007). This is for several reasons: (i) sport offers sponsors a competitive advantage (Beech & Chadwick, 2007; Shank & Lyberger, 2014), (ii) live sports means significant brand exposure (Chiarunain, 2017), (iii) new forms of media (i.e. social media) and sports are compatible (Newman et al, 2017), (iv) emotionally link event/team to a brand (Adamek, 2018), (vi) sport offers expansion into a new geography (Fortunato, 2013). Notable sponsorship deals extend to Gazprom Energy's alignment with the UEFA Champions League (Chadwick, 2019), DOW Chemical's sponsoring the Olympic

Games (Owen, 2020), and YouTube's sponsorship of the Women's National Basketball Association (Perez, 2018).

The Literature Review has provided an in-depth insight into social sciences and consumption literatures in regards to football consumption of BSAs and cultural representations in advertising. Taking these combined literatures into account, section 2.6 provides a conceptual understanding of key points of information.

2.6: Conceptual Framework

The literature review highlighted four key aspects: (i) English football is a key identity marker, (ii) the manifestations and significance of the BSA identity in regards to migration, citizenship and hybridity discourse, (iii) the importance of race, racialisations and racism(s) and (iv) the role of advertising in (re)producing the 'self'. A synthesised view of these concepts and streams of literatures, we gain a new perspective of English football – understanding how race impacts lived experiences of football.

Race is a social and ideological constructs which draw upon the linguistic and cultural practices in football and society that Carrington & McDonald (2001) suggest produce a dynamic sense of contested and/or collective identity. Subsequently, inclusion/exclusion dynamics and dynamisms of racial/ethnic groups are based primarily on lived experiences (self, groups or communities). Responses to comparisons, material differences and political activity have significant implications to already marginalised (and racialised) groups and communities. As such, conceptual deliberations calls for an investigation which brings together two key theoretical lenses: CRT and space.

2.6.1: Integrating CRT and space

Space is a platform which evaluates interactions and relations in ways that liberate or constrain social affairs (Visconti et al, 2010). Recent work on race has suggested a more contested use of spaces that have an influence on social relations in both, complimentary and divergent ways (Hylton, 2009). Lefebvre's (1991) framework of spatiality, adopted in this conceptualisation, distinguishes three overarching spaces which formulate interactions, relations and social dynamics: (i) perceived space (physical manifestations and structures), (ii) conceived space (mental and ideological constructs), and (iii) lived space (social space in which all inhabitants engage in). In short, this 'triple' is meant to convey that space is complex and multifaceted (Gottdiener, 1993), thus enters and influences social relations at every level – i.e. micro, meso and macro (see Demangeot et al, 2018). Fundamentally, the social space

is a space of practice – the everyday lived experience that is internalised, externalised and materialised through (in)action by all members of society (Lefebvre, 1991). In essence, the social space is endowed with a 'use value' for people who are a part of this space (Saatcioglu & Ozanne, 2013:33). Nevertheless, its position is consistently changing, adapting and shifting, thus evaluating its form and frame can be oftentimes problematic.

When it comes to evaluating English football, scholars (e.g. Hylton, 2009; Evans, 2014; Goldblatt, 2014) habitually (though not directly) refer to it as a social space. This is for two main reasons: (i) space imparts a sense of ideologically-incentivised collective or contested groups and communities, which are thus transferred to physical forms and structures (i.e. change in policy) and (ii) space has the ability to change/alter relations (i.e. micro, meso and macro relations) – meanings of social spaces are not fixed, rather lived experiences can be re-appropriated and reconfigured by its inhabitants as places of possibility, options and opportunity (Soja, 2010). Anecdotally speaking, English football involves the triad of space: (i) mental imaging and (ii) perceptions of built forms, comparisons and relations. Subsequently, the physical construction and mental perceptions intertwine to create (iii) lived experiences (i.e. how one experiences football).

Analysis of social relations and sport generally, and football in particular, would benefit from incorporating the use of space in regards to assessing race and racialisations. One critical theoretical perspective to assessing such dimensions is the adoption of CRT, which according to Hylton (2009:22) "examines the racism in society that privileges the whiteness as it disadvantages others because of their blackness". Zamudio et al (2011:3) suggest it thus absorbs the "all-encompassing web of race to further our understanding of inequality". Table 2 (page 41) in the Literature Review presented the five key tenets of CRT. Simply put, it argues that for one to interpret, assess, evaluate and analyse topics centred on race, the voices of those being 'oppressed' need to be at the forefront.

Criticisms	Study Responses
CRT lacks balance	The football (social) space is not exclusive to one particular community – a need to incorporate a balanced argument. Insider & outsider voices are included in this study.
CRT blames Whites for all inequalities	Important to acknowledge the all barriers-to-entry. Not just superimposed barriers controlled by out-group members
CRT is egotistical – researchers writing about themselves	Researcher role key. The researcher is of BSA orientation, considers himself a football insider with his experience on-field & off-field. However, research understands such similar identity can mask truthfulness, interpretation & end-result. All discussed in methodology chapters
CRT relies on extensively of storytelling	'Race' & racism(s) are particularly sensitive subjects. People will experience them in different ways. Stories of overt racism will be difficult to apprehend, yet, need to be discussed
CRT neglects understandings of socioeconomic class. Is class a key interpretive category in striving for social justice?	CRT centralises 'race'. There will always be other factors which can influence football inclusion such as gender, disability, caste etc. This study will do its utmost in representing all issues which inhibit football inclusion

Table 6: Study's response to CRT criticisms

In presenting the argument that CRT and spatiality are complementary, there are two key points to report. Firstly, there have been arguments made in academic realms against the use of CRT (see Delgado & Stefancic, 1993). However, Lefebvre's (1991) appreciation of space does not stipulate an evolutionary principle which alters the human-space relation, rather that this relation changes and adapts according to differences in social organisation - English football operates within its own sets of ideals, rules and norms, thus comparing its dynamics and dynamisms to other human-space relations is inimitable. Table 6 identifies the criticisms as pointed out by Delgado & Stefancic (1993). However, it presents distinct responses to each criticism. Perhaps Gottdiener's (1993:132) explanation best explains why integrating space and CRT is useful in research: "space is both a medium of social relations and a material product that can affect social relations".

Secondly, exploring inclusion/exclusion dynamics within the confines of space gives analysts the opportunity to identify the role of each space (perceived, conceived and

lived) – e.g. racism is an ideology which regulates practices of exclusion from a lived space (Hylton, 2009). The conception of football inclusion can be thus extended to facets afforded to perceived and conceived realities, or the notion that social relations (i.e. inter-community contact or in-group associations) have an effect on consumption (in this case football and advertising). Individuals, groups and communities are thus subjected to primes in advertising which define the role of the collective (i.e. who's seen to be included) and contested (i.e. who's seen to be excluded) (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001). Therefore, the action of cultivation is not static and can in turn, create and (re)produce inclusion/exclusion at the micro (self), meso (community) and macro (institutional) levels.

Inclusion/exclusion dynamics is commonly considered, assessed, evaluated and analysed in relation to our lived spaces (i.e. 'black' or 'Asian', hence 'othered'). However, we know little about how spaces are perceived and conceived in society (Hylton, 2009). Furthermore, the creation (re)creation and contestation of English football, in terms of how our spatial practices structure how we experience the sport (passively and actively) is under-researched and under-examined in researched centred on BSA voices. Taking all this into account, Figure 3 (page 80) presents the conceptual framework which underpins the methodological and analytical route of this study.

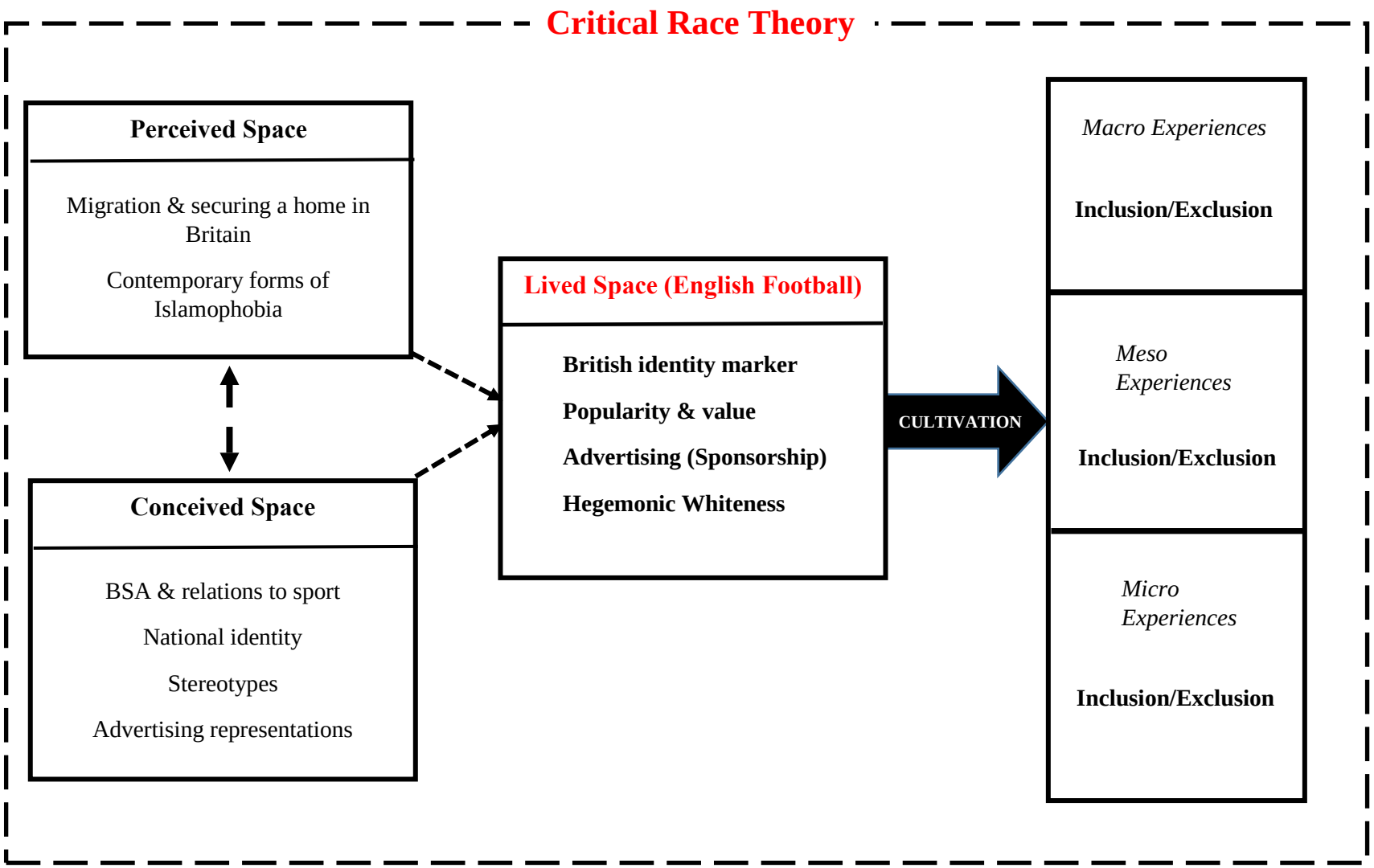


Figure 3 - Conceptual Framework

2.7: Conclusion

Chapter 2 has simultaneously provided an in-depth review of key literatures and the conceptual understanding which is underpinning this study. Crucially, the literature has highlighted how football inclusion for BSAs tends to be amassed through a racialized lens. However, what was discovered was the fact that football is not a foreign pastime for people of South-Asian heritage, rather migrating to Britain has manifested forms of exclusion. Combining CRT and Spatiality is such a manner allows for explorations of football inclusion/exclusion to manifest. Chapter 3 addresses the methodology used in this research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1: Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed a number of important manifestations in accordance with Britain, football, hybridity, advertising and cultural production. Furthermore, it developed a conceptual framework which identified key conceptual points of reference. This chapter builds and explores the research methodological concepts that directed and formed the research. The chapter thus highlights the procedures with which this research study was conducted, with the aim of achieving Research Objective 2.

The chapter is presented in five sections. Section 1 demonstrates the underlying philosophical assumptions used which shaped the philosophical positions of this research. Section 2 presents the research design and methodological choices (qualitative method which has three separate phases of research) of this study. Section 3 highlights the methods and processes of data collection. It presents the grounds and appropriateness of evaluating three different stakeholders. Section 4 explains the researcher's positionality and reflexivity and how it changed over subsequent phases.

It also incorporates ethical issues, trustworthiness and validity of research. The final section, section 5 explains the data analysis procedures used for this research.

3.2: Research design rationale

This section provides the justification for adopting the chosen philosophical position(s) which informed the research design and chosen research methods. Significantly, the research design and its methods were underpinned by a CRT perspective, in that the voices of the oppressed were the focus of this study.

3.2.1: Philosophical position(s)

There is a practical benefit to understanding and evaluating philosophical stances within qualitative research. The core reason to examine philosophical positions in qualitative research is thus: a set of beliefs which guide action – a perspective which underpins chosen research strategies and methods (Saunders et al, 2009; Creswell, 2017). Failure to think through and adhere to philosophical positions may have residual effects on the quality of research carried out (Easter-Smith et al, 2008).

Gunzenhauser (20150:1) maintains social scientists need to be aware of the 'pluralistic engagement', or the philosophical commitments and assumptions they make in research. This is because assumptions have a significant impact on how the researcher relays their design and what particular phenomenon is going to be investigated. Philosophical stances are influenced by practical, real-world happenings (Johnson & Clark, 2006). For instance, a factual-based qualitative research study will examine the intangibles (i.e. feelings, opinions and attitudes). The next subsection explores the philosophical branches available to CRT research.

3.2.1.1: Philosophical positions and their appropriateness in this research

The interpretivist paradigm, conceptualised as incubating a relativist ontology with a subjectivist epistemology is aligned with contemporary, post-modern thought (Levers, 2013). Its research focus "is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:22). Thus, "knowledge is relative to particular circumstances – historical, temporal, cultural, subjective – and exists in multiple forms as representations of reality (interpretations by individuals)" (Benoliel, 1996:407). By way of understanding reality, interpretivists accept multiple meanings and ways of knowing, thus acknowledge "objective reality can never be captured", we only "know it through representations" (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2005:5). Fossey et al (2002) suggest that the interpretive paradigm focuses primarily on recognising the narrative and as a result, explores the meaning of human experiences and action. Therefore, the next two subsections evaluate the philosophies of relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology and how they are influence CRT research approaches.

3.2.1.1.1: Relativist ontology

The ontological position of interpretivism is relativism. According to Guba & Lincoln (1994:110) relativism is the view that "reality is subjective and differs from person to person". In retrospect, our realities are mediated entirely by our symbolic senses, and without its determining feature, the world is considered meaningless and empty (Scotland, 2012). Therefore, reality 'emerges' when our 'consciousness' engages with objects, images and other forms of stimulation which are impregnated with meaning(s) (Crotty, 1998). What is important to consider within relativist ontology is the notion that reality is individually constructed – there are as many realities as there are individuals and an individual's reality can change or evolve over time. Primes such as race, ethnicity, gender, language, culture do not "passively label objects but actively shapes and moulds reality" (Frowe, 2001:185). Thus, reality is constructed through the interaction of stimulated cues and aspects of the independent world, or in other words, a cue can influence, inform or justify reality and meanings.

3.2.1.1.2: Subjectivist epistemology

Within the subjectivist epistemology assumption, the "researcher makes meaning of their data through their own thinking and cognitive processing of data informed by their interactions with participations" (Kivanja & Kuyini, 2017:33). Subsequently, there is the understanding that the researcher constructs social knowledge as a result of his or her personal experience(s) of the phenomenon within the natural setting(s) being investigated. Such assumptions are valid, however acknowledging its existence and the solutions to its influence limits 'forced results' – evaluated in 'Reflexivity & Positionality' section (page 122). Critically, there is the assumption that the researcher and their research subjects are engaged in an interactive process where they intermingle, force dialogue, question, listen, read, write and record research data (Bryman, 2012). This in itself cannot be eliminated nor disputed.

Having clarified the philosophical positions and interpretive worldview of this research, both of which highlight the importance of appreciating individual voices and interpretation(s) to reality, the next section identifies the influence of 'symbols' to social reality. One of the main tenets of CRT is to acknowledge, evaluate and assess the voice of the 'racially oppressed'. Thus, symbols are proven to be one of the key influencers of racialisation(s) (Lawrence, 2011).

3.2.2: Symbolic interactionism: individuals as social products

Symbolic interactionism is commonly viewed as a structure which explores the relationship between individuals and society – how individuals make meaning of reality and the way they react in relation to these beliefs (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986). MacDonald (2001:117) argues "human beings are viewed as active participants and creators of the world in which they live in". As individuals, groups and communities are viewed as 'social actors', their interpretations are granted through specific meanings which thus affect (in)actions and choices.

Hecht et al (1994) present the concept of 'sensitising constructs' as tools for defining inclusiveness. Symbols such as cultural (traditional) clothing, language, race and gender etc, in accordance with individual views/opinions/attitudes and 'expressed behaviours' are all signifiers to race-based relationships and associations (i.e.

someone who looks and acts like me). The authors promote its idealism by situating it along a 'sensitising constructs' continuum: (i) 'problematic' (multiple identities equals assigning multiple meanings and interpretations, making it problematic for the consumer), (ii) 'code' (system of beliefs, values and images of individual interpretation), (iii) 'conversation' (a patterned representation of an image), and (iv) community (a representation where a community is depicted, thus shared identity). Although inclusiveness is generally epitomised on the meso level (i.e. community and groups), one needs to appreciate how reality is individualised to particular lived spaces.

Central to symbolic interactionism is the concept of 'self', and how the 'self' can create and recreate experiences from one interaction to the next (Mead, 1934; Carter & Fuller, 2015). Within the sociological and consumer research frameworks, the 'self' is constructed through symbolic meaning, thus meaning is an individual's idiosyncratic interpretations of a situation and how they (re)act to that interpretation is critical within the confines of what space and CRT looks to achieve, acknowledge and understand.

The three basic tenets of symbolic interactions described by Blumer (1969:2) rest on: (i) meaning, (ii) language and (iii) thought:

- Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them;
- The meanings derive from social interactions (communication) between and among individuals (communication is symbolic as we communicate via language(s) and symbols);
- These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things they encounter

Much like the relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology philosophical positions, Blumer (1969) conceives 'truth' is not absolute as meanings can alternate, dependent entirely on context and social environment, hence "coming to know entails searching for ways to understand the meaning of a situation from the perspective of the individual and societal groups" (Benzies & Allen, 2001:544). A major strength of

adopting the interpretivist stance is the introduction of symbolic interactionism as a way of showcasing the influence of advertising representations and its influence on: (i) macro, meso and micro formalities, in addition to various 'social spaces' (in this context English football). Also fundamental to the conceptual underpinning of this study is the appreciation of evaluating a social issue from the perspective of those affected by it (see Armstrong, 1999).

Acknowledging the philosophical underpinning of this study is of paramount importance in addressing the chosen research design. Notably, relativist ontology identifies that reality is individually constructed. This is in line with symbolic interactionism and CRT, as they all encompass views that individual perspectives are as a result of past lived experiences. Further, subjectivist epistemology brings forth notions that researcher also constructs social knowledge and thus plays a significant part in research. Section 3.3 presents the research design of this study which takes into account philosophical positions, CRT and the research's problems statement.

3.3: Research Design

Qualitative enquiry is the most appropriate form of research enquiry when exploring interactionism (Benzies & Allen, 2008).

When constructing any qualitative research design, Charmaz (2014) argues a dynamic and conceptually responsive design should be in place in order to address contemporary injustices, thus generating as much 'rich data' as possible. In most cases, interpretivists collect sufficient amounts of data hoping to reach saturation (point in data collection when no new data presents itself) which then enables them to commence onto their 'rich' analytical story. Rather than a prescriptive research design which is proven to limit the 'realities' of individuals, this study involves an evolving research design where individual phases of data collection (i) inform successive stages and (ii) allow for concepts, categories and classifications to be generated from each stakeholder (Jones & Alony, 2011; Creswell & Plano-Clarke, 2011). Subsequently, there was more than one method to collect data. Mertens & Hesse-

Biber (2012:77) refer to this as triangulation: one is able to use a number of methods to gather various "perspectives to understand a complex problem".

The design in itself consists of a multi-stage, multi-faceted research process aimed at uncovering the influence of BSA (non-)representations in advertising to football inclusion/exclusion dynamics. Individual phases flow logically from stage-to-stage, with the goal being to gather all 'relevant' information in its bid to achieve theoretical saturation.

This study incorporated three individual data collection phases represented graphically in Figure 4 (page 88), incorporating two data collection methods: (i) focus groups and (ii) in-depth exploratory semi-structured intensive interviews. The study covered BSA and non-BSA samples in order to compare and contrast perceptions – will be discussed in more detail throughout subsequent sections. In order to elicit and examine the influence of advertising representations, the researcher needed to adopt 'in-place' television advertisements which have been circulated across mainstream television. Such an approach affords: (i) access and awareness – participants most likely would have seen the advertisement before (although not an issue if they had not) and (ii) television advertisement's cross-national coverage.

Phase I

Sampling –.BSA community

Procedure – Focus groups. Discuss perceptions of (non-) representations in sport-related advertising. Present advertising examples.

Analysis – Community-based participatory research. Constructivist GT analysis

# of Participants - 26

Research Aim 2 & 3 – Identify contemporary attitudes. Discover key themes.

Phase II

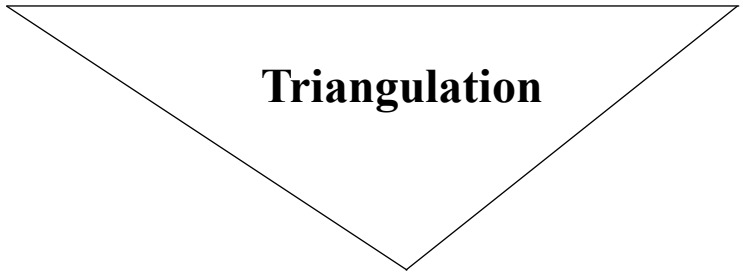
Sampling – Non-BSAs

Procedure – 1 focus group. Discuss perceptions of sport-related advertising. Present same advertising examples & use same focus group guide

Analysis – Constructivist GT analysis

# of Participants - 5

Research Aim 2 & 3 – Identify contemporary attitudes. Discover key themes



Phase III

Sampling – BSA professional & semi-professional footballers, BSA scouts, BSA coaches, BSA broadcast presenters, BSA Physicians

Procedure – Semi-structured intensive interviews – Evaluate attitudes & behaviours

Analysis – Constructivist GT analysis

# of Participants - 6

Research Aims 2 & 3 – Discuss social phenomenon. Identify key themes

Figure 4 – Research Design (a*dapted from Kipnis 2014:100)*

The next section evaluates the method of constructing the sport advertising database, and why particular advertisements were chosen over others.

3.4: Visual Methods and Analysis

Research on the impact of visuals on communities has grown exponentially over the past decade. There is growing evidence which suggests that visuals influence and effect inequalities (Solorzano et al, 2000; Yosso, 2002; Fink & Lomax, 2011). This research study subsequently recognises visuals as part of an interpretivist and CRT framework whereby the goal is to identify whether advertising (non-)representations influence and impact BSA football inclusion/exclusion within English football.

Glaw et al (2017:2) highlight that "visual methodologies are used to understand and interpret images". This includes photography, video, film, drawing, collage, painting, artwork, sculpture, cartoons, graffiti and advertising (Barbour, 2014). This methodological inclusion has been deemed, by some, as a new and improved method within qualitative realms as it has the ability to: (i) enhance the richness of data by discovering additional layers of meaning, adding validity to social injustices (Glaw et al, 2017), whilst simultaneously, (ii) adding value to already existing qualitative methods by including a component which plays a major role in the everyday reality of participants - namely visuals (Pain, 2012). Ultimately, researchers use visual images to create knowledge, thus developing a comprehensive insight into the worlds of participants and as a result, can be recognised as advantageous in research exploring an apparent social injustice (i.e. BSA inclusion/exclusion within English football).

The presence, and relevance of visuals to inclusion/exclusion needs to be at the forefront of research. Although previous analysis of BSA football inclusion/exclusion has orientated around text and (inter)action (i.e. interviews and surveys, documents and manifestos, newspaper coverage, laws and official reports), there is growing evidence which suggests visuals have a symbiotic relationship to a community's acceptance and/or rejection levels, especially relevant in today's multicultural marketplace. For instance, previous research (i.e. O'Cass, 2000; Andersson, 2004; Phillips & McGuire, 2010) has demonstrated how the fashion marketplace relies heavily on visuals to categorise the 'self' into distinct: 'included' and 'excluded'

classifications. This is a comparative social injustice to that of BSAs in English football as inclusion/exclusion is embedded on a racialised paradigm where the 'eye-test' determines acceptance and rejection.

Phillips (2012) suggests systematic analysis of visuals, or an integration of visual analysis within broader social frameworks (i.e. research focusing specifically on BSA inclusion/exclusion within English football) is still rare. The historical neglect of exploring visual representations within research and analysis reflects the injustices experienced today. Nevertheless, studies by Mitchell (1994) and Leeuwin & Jewitt (2001) have proved useful for visual analysis methodologies, insofar they have helped decipher and unpick the methodological concerns when appointing visual representations within research studies. The authors demonstrate how one of the main characteristics within visual analysis is the ability to provide a challenging and thought-provoking analysis, with a particular focus on imparting the complex and multifaceted meanings of visuals to lived experiences. This includes assessing: (i) single visuals versus a collection of visuals, (ii) an evaluation of visuals through a content analysis and (iii) text, producer and viewer interpretations (dependent on research question(s)). Dealing with these multifaceted concerns require methodological skills that differ from the arsenal displayed in singular social sciences research (Doerr et al, 2013).

Combining CRT and space with visual methods and analysis stems from the willingness to draw on the voices of minority groups in order to challenge dominant power structures whilst simultaneously exploring lived experiences. For instance, in South-Asian countries the quest for Whiteness in the cosmetics industry is oftentimes perpetuated in advertising representations where fascination, idealisation and superiority is attributed to a fairer skin complexion. By analysing the voices of the oppressed (those with darker skin tones), activists were not only able to highlight the significance of these visuals to socio-cultural customs, they were able to empower the oppressed by launching several counter campaigns (i.e. 'Dark is Beautiful') through film, advertising, paintings and artwork to challenge and redress the "hegemonic standards which equate beauty with fairness" (Jha, 2016:11). Similar dynamics have occurred within English football in regards to Chelsea's 'Say No to Antisemitism' campaign (Harris, 2019). The club set up a giant mural on the side of Stamford Bridge

(club's home stadium) to commemorate Holocaust Remembrance Day. Such examples demonstrate how issues surrounding stereotyping, micro and macro aggressions, and inequalities are important features which need to be considered and navigated. Through this lens, researchers can position visuals as a pedagogical tool to help participants become aware of their surroundings in regards to the structures of power and domination within both society and English football, adding to the growing insight surrounding 'media impact' (Yosso, 2002:59).

In regards to understandings of visuals displayed in advertisements, it is a far more complex and dynamic than first imagined. The overwhelming majority of agencies and producers come to a consensus: advertisements are used to: (i) obtain consumer attention, (ii) create impact, and (iii) generate interest from indifferent audiences (Dyer, 2000). Furthermore, with ever-increasing advances in technology, advertisements now have the capability of being utilised across different platforms, including TV, radio, social media, internet, mobile phones, billboards, posters, leaflets, clothing, accessories, and food & drink (Sweney, 2019). Some research studies have speculated how, on an average day, consumers will be subjected to over 5000 advertisements (Simpson, 2017; Holmes, 2019), further emphasising the need to explore its influence in a plural society such as Britain whereby representations conveyed are now considered to have evident consequences on the self and within active communities (Saren et al, 2019). This iteration is critical to understanding the interpretations of key stakeholders to inclusion/exclusion dynamics of BSAs within English football.

It is in the face of new challenges to qualitative enquiry that new opportunities emerge. Black (2006) points out that the strength of the interpretivist approach is framed through its ability to address the complexity and meaning of consumption situations. It is necessary then to provide detailed explanations and interpretations of data that holds a myriad of meanings. Thus, by integrating an interpretivist approach with a focus on visual analysis with the CRT framework, this study was able to establish a 'new' reality which involved the interaction of individuals with themselves, their socio-cultural structures and surroundings, and English football.

Section 3.4 provides a methodological insight into the strategy which was adopted when it came to choosing applicable advertisements to be used in the research process.

3.4: Constructing sport adverting database: choosing advertisements for research

Qualitative research now lends itself to incorporating a variety of additional 'objects' which help improve and advance research positions and richness of knowledge (Margolis & Pauwels, 2011). We see this best in research orientated around design and production, however within realms where the aim is to explore social injustices (i.e. inclusion/exclusion of BSAs in English football in the context of this study), there are now justifications for using additional 'objects'. For Davis (1997:25), 'objects' are critical when one needs: (i) background information in a particular area where little is known, (ii) information to assist in problem solving or the development of research hypothesis, and (iii) a thorough understanding of the underlying relationship between consumers' feelings, attitudes and beliefs, and their behaviours, especially when information on this relationship cannot be obtained through direct, structured and primary closed-ended questioning.

This suggests qualitative enquiry has now moved beyond mere observation which focuses on *what* people do, rather, it is to help develop a better understanding of *why* individuals act, interpret and respond in a particular way (Whalen, 1994). The absence of such understanding from an inclusion/exclusion perspective is essential to achieving equality in a 'space' yet to be evaluated from the BSA perspective.

Bryman & Bell (2003:88) suggest "the social world is not intrinsically knowable" – what we understand through research should be based upon subjective analysis of individual and community interpretations. In this sense, interpreting how one perceives and interprets advertising (non-)representations permits a greater appreciation to uncovering its social influence, affording those concerned a multifaceted evaluation of reality within English football.

In order to ground the study in the reality required, a Media Content-Analysis (MCA) method was employed. Macnamara (2004:1) explains that MCA is a "specialised sub-

set of content analysis, a well-established research methodology". Introduced initially by Lasswell (1927) as a systematic model to study mass media propaganda, MCA has evolved enormously insofar, it is regularly utilised by researchers and scholars who have analysed and assessed the impact within mass communication studies and social sciences (i.e. in education (Saraisky, 2016); human-wildlife conflict (Bhatia et al, 2013); social media engagement (Stellefson et al, 2014); and discrimination and exclusion (Duarte et al, 2018). Clearly, Lasswell et al's (1952:34) call for MCA still stands true today: "… content analysis operates on the view that verbal behaviour is a form of human behaviour, that the flow of symbols is a part of the flow of events, and that the communication process is an aspect of the historical process". Hence, MCA has been identified as a method for studying portrayals of violence, racism, and women within mass communication spectrums (Macnamara, 2004).

Not surprisingly therefore, MCA has been one of the most widely adopted methods of analysing content in the form of text, verbal and/or visual. This is because it is, according to Bell (2001), a common-sense way to research what is shown across the media, in addition to answering questions about what characteristics are included and excluded. Nonetheless, MCA alone is not able to provide a comprehensive insight into the influence and effects of representations, rather it is there to act as a tool to help evaluate and unpick interpretations, attitudes and opinions (Bell, 2001). For instance, using MCA to correlate obesity in online news photographs with prejudice and discrimination (Heuer et al, 2011) does not, by itself, show that consumers are affected by these representations in a particular way. In short then, the framework in which this study adopted is as follows: MCA provides a methodological approach to advertising which thus transitions into the CRT and interpretivist paradigm where it is an examination of the voices of the 'Othered'. Table 7 (page 94) demonstrates the strengths and weaknesses of MCA.

Strengths	Weaknesses
Can be applied to examine written documents, pictures, videos, advertisements and situations	Purely descriptive – identifies what there is, but may not reveal the underlying motives for the observed patterns (*what* but not *why*)
Widely used and understood	Limited to availability of material
Can help decipher trends in groups, individuals and cultures	
Is inexpensive and can be repeated if problems arise	
Does not require contact with people	
Useful for analysing archival material	
Establishing reliability is easy and straightforward (identify source)	
Choice of materials can be made available for others to use	

Table 7: Strengths & weaknesses of MCA (Bell, 2001)

Under the MCA approach, materials analysed can be text, verbal and/or visual. Bell (2001) suggests to analyse representations in this way is to break each depiction into its constituent elements, insofar the units of meaning are defined by the platform in which they are produced. For instance, the units of meaning for paragraphs, visuals, pages or photographs are dependent on the platform they are represented in. Bell (2001) labels these all as 'texts', whether or not they are visual or verbal (i.e. an advertisement is seen as a visual text). Texts, then, are defined within the context of a particular research question and within the theoretical categories of the platform (television advertisements) and genres (football) on which the research focuses on.

There have been several useful ways to select purposeful media content to utilise in research. Yet, the precise method best used within the qualitative remit is, according to McKee (2004) poorly defined: "we have a very odd lacuna at the heart of cultural studies of the media", whereby "textual analysis is the central methodology, and yet we do not have a straightforward published guide as to what it is and how we do it" (p.21). However, Newbold et al (2002) provides a systematic MCA strategy for researchers to adopt, albeit dependent on research parameters, context and media platforms. Their research suggests following three distinct constituents: (i) selection of media platform and genre, (ii) inclusion of issues or date of launch, and (iii)

inclusion of characteristics which are being examined (i.e. ethnic inclusion/exclusion). Hazel & Clarke (2007) adopted this method in their MCA which identified and evaluated articulations of race and gender within the American media system, proving useful in deciphering how ideologies of racism and 'Whiteness' continue to exist within ethnic magazines, emphasising an inferior/superior dynamic.

Generalisations about what is shown in press, on television or in advertisements require objective evidence. Thus, in utilising MCA to discover purposeful advertisements to utilise in this research study, the following section introduces the advertising database.

3.4.2: The sport-advertising database

The primary goal of this 'sport-advertising database' was to identify which advertisements feature archetypal associations of sport (i.e. fans, competition, playing, refereeing, merchandise etc.). Pegoraro et al (2010:1454) articulate that advertisements use associations of cultures, arts, and traditions as a 'corporate marketing tool' to target consumers. Sport is embedded within the British culture (Goldblatt, 2014) hence its application.

Although advertisements are prevalent across posters, billboards, print media, magazines, clothing, drinks, radio, social media and on other available spaces in the form of text, verbal and/or visual, this study focused specifically on television advertising. This was for several reasons. First was accessibility, insofar television reaches far more consumers than their media counterparts (Shanet, 2019). For example, viewing numbers for England's World Cup 2018 semi-final against Croatia reached 26.5million (Gill, 2018), Sky Sports Premier League viewership is up 21% year-on-year (Impey, 2019), the 2014 Tour de France saw 10.7million Britons tune in (BBC, 2014), and the French Open 2019 on Eurosport saw a 31% increase in viewing across its television channel and digital application (Carp, 2019). Second is the fact that television has a wide ranging consumer base (Yang, 2018). Although targeted, there is a far greater chance that different communities will be viewing television rather than reading a magazine which tends to be targeted on one particular industry (i.e. fitness, fashion, design etc.). Third was television's ability to target audiences on

a mass scale which is the primary reason why advertising slots on television are far more expensive compared to other media, with ITV, Channel 4, Channel 5, Sky 1 and sports channels leading the way (Stewart, 2017). For instance, a thirty second advertisement across the television coverage of the Superbowl costs $5.25 million (Huddleston, 2019). Fourth is based on the notion that television advertising drives higher return on investment, thus has higher rates of effectiveness (a study conducted by Government funded - ThinkBox in 2018 discovered that 72% of television advertising campaigns generated profit), despite digital advertising (i.e. social media) starting to compete in terms of reach and effectiveness (Sweney, 2018). Fifth is the fact that television advertising is considered as the most 'trustworthy' amongst consumers (Tan, 2017). Finally, is based upon time and research capacity. To consider all media platforms would make this research study far too broad and as a result, the critical analysis of a continuing phenomenon would be compromised.

The advertisements which were identified and thus included within the database were based on two distinct factors. First was situated around time periods. Namely, advertisements which aired between 1992 and 2016 were included. This was because the commercialisation of football began in the early 1990s (start of the English Premier League which was broadcasted initially by Sky Sports (Rodrigues, 2012) and as a result, advertisements became a prominent feature on mainstream television. Second was that advertisements were identified through online search engines Google and YouTube. Throughout the collection of relevant examples, the terms: 'Premier League adverts', 'football adverts', 'sponsors of football adverts', 'English football adverts', 'sport adverts in the UK', 'World Cup adverts', 'Euro adverts', 'Tennis adverts', 'sport sponsors adverts' and 'cricket sponsors adverts' were all explored. Furthermore, official sponsorships (i.e. Adidas being the official sponsor of the European Championships) were not compulsory as instances of ambushing and other likeminded advertisements were included within the database.

Following Bell's (2001) and Newbold et al's (2002) call for constituent elements to be the focus when identifying media content for research, this study focused on two distinct criteria when it came to selecting advertisements to use in the research. These were addressed via both visual and verbal elements. Although distinct (i.e. visual and verbal being individualistic elements), in this study's MCA, visual and verbal elements were in fact interconnected in that spoken parts were oftentimes embedded

within particular visuals (i.e. unique phrases referring to sport when playing/watching sport were frequent). The two constituent elements which were addressed were the sport in which the advertisement features and BSA and other ethnic inclusion/exclusion. Subsections 3.4.3 and 3.4.4 provide an insight into why these two elements were chosen.

3.4.3: Sport which the advertisement feature

The one element which determined which advertisements were included in the research was based upon what sport, or archetypical associations of sport is being featured in each advertisement. Although this study focuses specifically on the inclusion/exclusion of BSAs in English football, it is beneficial to gauge the different sports which feature in British advertisements. Turley & Shannon (2000) identified that advertisers have been facing ever-increasing problems associated to consumer message recall, purchase intentions and actual purchase behaviour. As a result, marketers have had to consider alternative methods for communicating with consumers (Turley & Shannon, 2000).

According to Biddiscombe (2018) sport is leading the way when it comes to attracting audiences by breaking barriers or trying out new strategies to develop relationships. Thus, brands are attaching themselves more to sports content as the sport-consumer relationship is generally known to embedded through emotions (Beech & Chadwick, 2007) – introducing emotional stimuli being one of the major features within a marketing framework (Bagozzi et al, 1999). Britain, in particular has a strong socio-cultural foothold on a variety of different sports (i.e. football, rugby, boxing, athletics, tennis, netball, cricket, ice hockey, hockey, gymnastics), hence its applicability in advertisements (Biddiscombe, 2018). By distinguishing which sport advertisements feature, the MCA is thus able to identify and correlate identity characteristics and elements such as ethnic inclusion/exclusion.

3.4.4: BSA and/or ethnic inclusion

Calls have been made to assess the inclusion/exclusion of ethnicity and race in advertising (Grier et al, 2017). This is the reason why the database also included classifications of whether BSAs (deemed BSA through their identity markers) and/or other BAME representatives were visible. It allowed the researcher to identify which advertisements included representations of BAME individuals and which did not. It also offered an overview of how advertisements have adapted and changed, if at all, over three decades. According to the consensus amongst communication scholars, the inclusion of BAME individuals in advertisements has grown emphatically over the past several decades (Lee et al, 2002; Johnson & Grier, 2013), with opportunities for BAME models and spokespersons increasing – BAME individuals featured in UK advertisements has more than doubled since 2015 to 25% (Stewart, 2018). Table 8 (page 99) presents the sport advertising database used in this research.

#	Year	Brand & Advertisement	Medium	Sport	BSA Inclusion	Ethnic Inclusion
1.	1992	SkySports 'Whole New Game'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
2.	2002	Pepsi 'Footballers v Sumo Wrestlers'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
3.	2007	Nike *Joga Bonito*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
4.	2008	Mastercard *Referee*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
5.	2008	Nike *Brazil v Portugal*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
6.	2010	Carlsberg *Old Lions*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
7.	2010	Nationwide *Little Britain FA England Team*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
8.	2010	Pepsi 'Football in Africa'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
9.	2012	Nike 'Write the Future'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
10.	2013	T.M Lewin *Fitting the England Cricket Team* (Mens)	TV	**Cricket**	**Yes**	**No**
11.	2013	Unibet 'Ashes' Ad 1	TV	**Cricket**	**No**	**Yes**
12.	2013	Unibet 'Ashes' Ad 2	TV	**Cricket**	**Yes**	**Yes**
13.	2013	T.M Lewin 'Fitting the England Cricket Team' (Ladies)	TV	**Cricket**	**No**	**No**
14.	2013	SkySports 'Premier League'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
15.	**2013**	**Strongow *Earn It***	**TV**	**Cricket**	**Yes**	**Yes**
16.	**2014**	**Nike *Winner Stays On***	**TV**	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
17.	2014	Barclays *Premier League*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
18.	2014	Coca-Cola 'World Cup'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
19.	2014	Samsung 'Messi v Kids'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
20.	**2014**	**Barclays *Thank You***	**TV**	**Football**	**No**	**No**
21.	2014	Beats by Dre 'The Game'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
22.	2014	Barclays 'Premier League in Africa'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
23.	2015	Barclays *Alan Shearer's First Game*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
24.	2015	Barclays *Digital Eagles in the Community. Walking Footballers*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
25.	2015	Qatar Airways 'Barcelona'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
26.	2015	Premier League 'The Best League'	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
27.	2016	Sky Sports *Premier League*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
28.	2016	Nike *The Switch*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**
29.	2016	Hyundai *Euro 2016 – The Wait*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**No**
30.	2016	Carlsberg *Euro 2016*	TV	**Football**	**No**	**Yes**

Table 8 – Sport-advertising database

3.4.5: Advertisements chosen

The advertising database provided thirty TV advertisements which utilised sport as a corporate marketing tool. It offered insight into five categories: (i) year, (ii) brand and advertisement, (iii) sport which is represented, (iv) ethnic inclusion/exclusion, and (v) BSA inclusion/exclusion. Not only did the database provide an applied overview of the sport-advertising ethnic associations, it highlighted brand values (which brands

tends to support which sport) and offered a pragmatic account of advertisements over the course of twenty four years. Consequently, it produced a database of thirty advertisements which have previously been aired on mainstream television.

The next step was to identity which advertisements would be used in the research study. To determine this, a strategy was developed which consisted of five interconnecting factors. First orientated around time restrictions. A topic such as BSA inclusion/exclusion within English football is a topic which would bring ongoing debates, thus limiting the number of advertisements displayed to three meant participants were given enough time to discuss opinions, attitudes, contradictions, and experiences. Second referred to content and environments. By including advertisements which have varying stories and scenes the visuals are not based on one-dimensional outcomes, but real life examples of what consumers are subjected to on a day-to-day basis. Third is a focus on contemporary advertisements. Although not a necessity, there was a focus on wanting participants to be able to discuss and debate from a contemporary perspective as these advertisements are more likely to influence insights today. Fourth was including prominent brands. This was due to prominent brands being more recognisable to participants. Fifth was an inclusion of a cricket-related advertisement. The narrative surrounding the BSA and their sporting relationships continues to include cricket as it is understood that the "Asian frame is more suited to stick sports rather than contact sports" (Kilvington, 2012:205). Including a cricket-related advertisement would thus examine: (i) whether contemporary media representations include similar stereotypes and racialisations, (ii) how influential cricket is to the current BSA identity, (iii) whether representations influence how non-BSAs members view BSA sporting credentials and to (iii) compare and contrast perceptions of participants. As a result of the above strategy, three advertisements were chosen (marked in red Table 8, page 99). Table 9 (page 101) illustrates the applicability of each advertisement to this research topic.

Advertisement	Sport	BSA Inclusion	Applicability to Research Topic
Nike 'Winner Stays On'	Football	No	➢ A typical park scenario with youngsters emulating football stars ➢ Black and White faces are prominent but no BSA faces among the crowd or amongst the players ➢ The 'pub' scene presents all Black members ➢ The advert presents international households. Scenes are based upon Black and White households ➢ No (British) South-Asians
Barclays 'Thank You'	Football	No	➢ A 'typical' fans routine for a football match ➢ Family orientation on a match day ➢ Three different generations are present ➢ Barclay's – Premier League's official sponsors ➢ Presents both male and female passionate spectatorship ➢ No ethnic faces ➢ Passion through the songs they sing
Strongbow 'Club Cricketer Faces an Over from James Anderson'	Cricket	Yes	➢ Typical team orientation and dressing room 'banter' ➢ Although 'white' faces are the prominent feature, you see four BSA faces. Two from the England national side and two who are being taught ➢ The name 'Ramesh' is mentioned ➢ You see BSA faces in the crowd

Table 9: Chosen advertisements applicability to research aims

Due to copyright regulations, as well as following strict ethics protocols set by Coventry University, a written synopsis of the three advertisements are provided in Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3. The advertisements were incorporated into Phase I and Phase II of the research process with the goal being to present them to participants in a bid to invoke open responses, comments, and debates. The advertisements were not used in Phase III as the aim of this phase was to assess the socio-cultural dynamics of English football from those who have infiltrated its space. This does not mean Phase III excluded topics surrounding the influence of media representations if raised by participants.

When it came to reviewing logistical concerns of visual ads within research, oft-cited contributions by communications scholar Davis (1997) suggests there are no written rules or regulations to follow, going onto state that within qualitative remits, the researcher has the opportunity to present visuals dependent on participant interactions. However, Morrison et al (2012:74) argue that "objects are best introduced at the end of the interview, instead of at the beginning or in the middle, because they have great power to stunt and skew discussion". This assertion is relevant in research studies

which employ objects to help ensure correct insights have been gathered (i.e. notes). When it comes to research which has a central focus on objects (in this study it is TV advertisements), it is important to allocate time post-viewing for participants to discuss and debate opinions, attitudes, differences etc. As a result, all advertisements were introduced in the middle of each focus group (middle was entirely dependent on the length of each focus group, but generally at the thirty minute mark). Moreover, advertisements were presented in the following order: (i) Nike 'Winner Stays On', (ii) Barclays 'Thank You' and (iii) Strongbow 'Club Cricketer Faces an Over from James Anderson'. The two football-related advertisements were shown first as this was the topic of the focus group discussions with the cricket-related advertisement shown last as a contrast.

This section reinforced the notion that using visuals provided depth to the CRT and interpretivist approach. Having created a sport advertising database, justified the categories of assessments, chosen and justified the selection of three advertisements the next section explains the data collection and analysis techniques.

3.5: Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection strategies or methods are "the techniques or procedures used to gather or analyse data related to some research question or hypothesis" (Crotty, 1998:3). An array of methods are available throughout the qualitative realm of enquiry, with some being more appropriate than others. This section builds on the methodological choices and assumptions that gave birth to the approach, design and methods which have been adopted for this study (also highlighted in the research design - Figure 4, page 88). It is illustrated in this section that an intensive or inductive approach, through focus groups and semi-structured exploratory interviews were preferred and adopted, as they offer greater advantages over other strategies, approaches and research methods (Bryman, 2013). Rather than just stating the chosen methodological choices for this study, this section also presents reasons for its suitability and appropriateness for each phase.

Section 3.5.1 evaluates the appropriateness of understanding the perceptions of the BSA community. The section includes a review of focus group discussions and why they are benefit Phase I (section 3.5.1.1), participant selection and gaining access (section 3.5.1.2) and focus group dynamics (section 3.5.1.3). Section 3.5.2 evaluates the appropriateness of understanding the non-BSAs perceptions. The section includes a review of participant selection and gaining access (section 3.5.2.1) and a review of the focus group dynamic (section 3.5.2.2). Section 3.5.3 evaluates the appropriateness of understanding the perceptions and experiences of BSAs working and playing within sport and football. The section includes appraisals of semi-structured interviews and their use within the context of this study (section 3.5.3.1), participant sampling and gaining access (section 3.5.3.2) and the interview process (3.5.3.3).

3.5.1: Phase I: appropriateness of understanding BSA community perceptions, attitudes and experiences

There were two primary goals for Phase I. First was to establish insights, experiences and opinions of the 'BSAs in English football movement' with particular emphasis placed upon understanding the various socio-cultural phenomena involved. Second was to evaluate perceptions of advertising representations, with particular emphasis

placed upon interpretations. The literature review (section 2.5.1) has highlighted how advertising representations can influence, and determine inclusion/exclusion dynamics of (often minority) communities. Thus, Phase I required a community-based participatory data collection approach as it was important to examine the voices of those being oppressed, which is, in this case, BSAs.

O'Toole et al (2003) suggest community-based participatory research can produce an abundance of content relevant information. Subsequently, employing a community-based approach when evaluating social traditions is regarded by Freudenberg & Tsui (2014:24) as a "good strategy as it encompasses practicality and personal development". Unfortunately, the majority of community-based research tends to be in the health and social care fields. However, using this approach in Phase I has similar comparisons: (i) aimed at one particular social group (community), and (ii) its ease of entry (researcher identity helped with ease of entry – comprehensive insight is provided in the Positionality and Reflexivity section (page 122). Minkler & Wallerstein (2008:201) identify three benefits of being an 'insider' when it comes to implementing a community-based participatory approach:

- Participants affected by social phenomena are more liable and willing to talk to someone of whom they can relate to;
- Participants will respond more openly to researchers' who have actually experienced similar scenarios;
- Emotional attachment to a social phenomenon helps build a relationship between researcher and participant

Having determined the overall goals for Phase I of this research study, section 3.5.1.1 evaluates the use of focus groups as the primary method to engage and maximise the levels of insight obtained.

3.5.1.1: Focus group discussions

Focus groups are the oft-preferred method to identify and describe in-depth issues that are not known or understood (Balch & Mertens, 1999). Specifically, focus groups are a popular research method as they offer a small group (normally 5-12 participants) a platform to discuss, (dis)agree and debate certain topics (Morgan, 1996). They are guided by a moderator/facilitator whose role is to keep the group 'focused' and to generate a lively and productive discussion (Williams & Katz, 2001). Agar & Macdonald (1995) suggest focus groups should be defined as the 'fast food' of qualitative research as their advantages stem from their ability to orchestrate group interaction, as well as providing opportunity for unanticipated topics to emerge.

The earliest known scientific use of focus groups was conducted by Bogardus (1926) who tested a social distance model with school children. Nevertheless, Merton & Kendall (1946) offered a formal introduction of the method from their research into the social effects of mass communication. Since its inception however, the use of focus groups has grown exponentially, with them now being implemented in research across the social sciences discipline (Hennink, 2007), food industry (Lai et al, 2018), the pharmaceuticals industry (Mesquita et al, 2019), education (Jenkinson et al, 2019), medicine (Curtin, 2016) and politics (Bezouw et al, 2019). When it comes to pursuing participants' knowledge, attitudes, perceptions, interpretations and personal experiences of social phenomena, focus groups offer flexibility insofar, understanding is obtained through interactions, debates and deliberations (Kitzinger, 2005). Such understandings may not be obtainable through other qualitative methods. Bryman (2012) stipulates focus groups allow researchers to understand 'why' participants feel the way they do, especially relevant when a group has the opportunity to discuss a range of topics.

According to Millward (2012) there are two types of evidence focus groups produce. First is the essentialist position which is an approach that assumes there is 'truth' to be found and that some research methods are better than others at getting closer to it. The advantages of focus groups is that, when managed well, they have the ability to produce both, broad and in-depth understandings of social phenomena as the interaction with likeminded participants stimulates debates, discussions and disclosures in a way that is less likely with comparable methods (Wilkinson, 2003).

The second is the social constructionist position which points out that focus groups are limited in understanding an individual's thoughts and feelings as they have the share a platform with others (Millward, 2012). It can be argued however, that the 'reality' discovered in focus groups is a representation of real-world practices which are collaboratively produced through a process of context-specific meaning making (Wilkinson, 2003). Subsequently, it is not so much the discovery of 'reality' itself, but the way 'reality' is interpreted, debated, defended and modified (Wilkinson, 2003).

For all these reasons, focus groups seemed well suited to establishing and understanding inclusion/exclusion dynamics of BSAs within English football with a particular focus on advertising (non-)representations. Besides, this relatively non-threatening group setting provided a fast way to also learn about contemporary community dynamics and experiences of sport and English football. The next step is to consider participant selection and gaining access. Subsection 3.5.1.2 addresses this.

3.5.1.2: Participant selection and gaining access

A critical element of any given research practice is gaining access to participants (Bogdan & Bilken, 1998; Saunders et al, 2009). Balch & Mertens (1999:267) suggest participants in a focus group would have to generally meet two criteria: (i) they should have the relevant experiences and/or information in line with the research topic, and (ii) they must be able to communicate to the group. Bryman (2015) encapsulates Balch & Mertens (1999) assertion, bringing forth the notion of 'purposeful sampling'. The target for this phase was 'people from the BSA community' which the researcher met by approaching individuals who were of BSA heritage.

In addition to purposeful sampling, the importance of group composition has been introduced by researchers (e.g. Barbour, 2005; Krops et al, 2019) in regards to affecting compatibility and cohesiveness of focus group dynamics. In terms of compatibility, it is necessary for all participants to be BSA, however, what is not imperative is a deep understanding of sport or football. A mix of males and females were actively sought after in a bid to ensure a representative sample was available. When it comes to cohesiveness, it is important to ensure the social identity of each participant did not impact their position amongst the groups. Although the aim was to

discover new frames of social phenomena, moderators have the responsibility to ensure each participant has an equal opportunity to express their views. Through this, focus group cohesion can be maintained. Ultimately, there needs to be a balance across participants (Barbour, 2005), insofar if a group is too homogenous (i.e. all first generation Sikh males) it can result in findings lacking in diverse attitudes, experiences and opinions. However, access to a diverse range of BSAs (i.e. gender, religion, generation, caste and culture) can be difficult as there can be a range of problems (i.e. access, transport, responsibilities etc.).

The research makes note that focus group 4 were entirely male, thus views were naturally interpreted through the male lens, in addition to focus group 3 being entirely third generation. Table 10 (pages 108-109) illustrates the participant information logs of each focus group. In terms of religions, Christians accounted for 4%, Hindus accounted for 12%, Muslims accounted for 19% and Sikhs accounted for 65%. In terms of the male and female ratio, males accounted for 80% and females accounted for 20%. Finally, the generational ratio were as follows, third generation accounted for 77%, second generation accounted for 19% and the first generation for 4%.

Focus Group 1

Participant No.	Gender	Ethnicity	Birth Year	BSA Generation	Religion	Occupancy	Marital Status
FGP1	M	BSA	1990	Third	Sikh	Employed	Single
FGP2	F	BSA	1995	Third	Sikh	Employed	Single
FGP3	M	BSA	1989	Third	Muslim	Employed	Married
FGP4	NO SHOW						
FGP5	M	BSA	1991	Third	Muslim	Employed	Single
FGP6	F	BSA	1971	Second	Hindu	Employed	Married
FGP7	M	BSA	1988	Third	Sikh	Employed	Married
FGP8	M	BSA	1985	Third	Sikh	Employed	Married

Focus Group 2

Participant No.	Gender	Ethnicity	Birth Year	BSA Generation	Religion	Occupancy	Marital Status
FGP9	M	BSA	1969	Second	Muslim	Self-Employed	Married
FGP10	M	BSA	1993	Third	Hindu	Student	Single
FGP11	NO SHOW						
FGP12	M	BSA	1982	Second	Sikh	Self-Employed	Married
FGP13	M	BSA	1991	Third	Sikh	Employed	Single
FGP14	F	BSA	1990	Third	Muslim	Employed	Single

Focus Group 3

Participant No.	Gender	Ethnicity	Birth Year	BSA Generation	Religion	Occupancy	Marital Status
FGP15	NO SHOW						
FGP16	F	BSA	1992	Third	Christian	Student	Married
FGP17	F	BSA	1992	Third	Sikh	Student	Single
FGP18	M	BSA	1991	Third	Sikh	Student	Single
FGP19	M	BSA	1991	Third	Muslim	Employed	Single
FGP20	NO SHOW						
FGP21	M	BSA	1990	Third	Sikh	Employed	Single
FGP22	M	BSA	1989	Third	Sikh	Self-Employed	Married

Focus Group 4

Participant No.	Gender	Ethnicity	Birth Year	BSA Generation	Religion	Occupancy	Marital Status
FGP23	M	BSA	1988	Third	Sikh	Employed	Single
FGP24	M	BSA	1990	Third	Sikh	Employed	Single
FGP25	M	BSA	1959	First	Sikh	Retired	Married
FGP26	M	BSA	1966	Second	Hindu	Employed	Married
FGP27	M	BSA	1987	Third	Sikh	Employed	Married
FGP28	M	BSA	1974	Second	Sikh	Employed	Married
FGP29	M	BSA	1990	Third	Sikh	Employed	Married
FGP30	M	BSA	1992	Third	Sikh	Employed	Single

Table 10: Phase I focus group participant information logs

Focus groups 1 and 2 were made up of participants the researcher has known through his personal and professional relations. The purpose was entirely based upon ease of entry (discussed in Positionality & Reflexivity section, page 122). Nevertheless, once the initial request was made, other potential participants volunteered to participate, thus a 'snowballing-effect' occurred (Bryman, 2015). Participants were introduced to the topic, as well as, on focus group procedures, locations, times and transport routes. The researcher emailed those attending participant information sheets (Appendix 4) and Coventry University's code of practice. Focus group 1 had 8 participants who signed up, however there was one who did not show up ('no show'), thus leaving 7 in the group. Focus group 2 had 6 participants sign up, yet, similar to focus group one, one participant was a 'no show'.

Focus groups 3 and 4 comprised of participants outside of the researcher's personal and professional ties. Using two prominent social media platforms (LinkedIn and Twitter), the researcher advertised for potential participants for these focus groups. Those who were willing to participate were directed to the online professional platform signupgenius.com. The platform's user friendly interface enabled participants to choose between four dates to attend a focus group. Once signed up, participants had access to logistical procedures (car parking code for free entry, location and contact details). They also received a welcoming email from the researcher which included participant information sheets (Appendix 4) and Coventry University's code of practice. Focus group three initially had 8 participants who signed up, however after two 'no shows', there were 6 left. All 8 participants who signed up for focus group 4 attended. What was discovered was the fact that participants in focus group 4 found comfort in conversing their opinions, perceptions and attitudes on a sensitive topic such as BSAs inclusion/exclusion within English football as they saw researcher as: "*someone who actually wants to make a difference*" (FGP27).

Section 3.5.1.3 offers a step-by-step review of focus group dynamics, with particular emphasis paid on how the researcher facilitated them, the kind of questions which were asked during the process and how the advertisements were used as part of the focus groups.

3.5.1.3: Focus group dynamics

All four focus groups were conducted in a conference room which seats 14 people at Coventry University's Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations. The conference room was equipped with a 60inch television screen which was linked to a computer, with food and beverages made available for all participants. Ferranto (2013) purports how the environment can affect how a participant behaves, believing an informal, but professional atmosphere can invoke relaxation and thus an openness to share experiences, opinions and attitudes. The researcher included two digital voice recorders which were placed at the centre of the conference room table, ensuring all participant's voices would be equally heard. Before participants arrived for each focus group, the researcher tested all the equipment and pre-loaded the advertisements on the computer via YouTube (TV screen was turned off when participants arrived). Participants were greeted at the main entrance of the centre by the researcher and were served snacks and a hot beverage. They were then escorted to the conference room, allowing for a brief meet-and-greet with other participants.

There are a variety of different perspectives and explanations when it comes to who should moderate/facilitate focus groups. Nevertheless, the consensus amongst researchers is that moderators/facilitators should: (i) exercise mild unobtrusive control, (ii) have adequate knowledge of the topic, and (iii) appear like the participants (Fern, 2001; Krueger, 2002). For these reasons, the researcher facilitated all four focus groups. This was for two reasons. First is in regards to identity - participants tend to be more open in their responses when they are being facilitated by an individual who bears resemblance; either by the way they look and act or by having similar personalities and interests (Chavez, 2008). The Positionality & Reflexivity section (122) provides a comprehensive assessment of this dynamic across all three research phases. Second is in regards to experience. The researcher has previously conducted 20+ focus groups through his professional employment and has observed many more. Many researchers choose to appoint an experimental approach when exploring the influence of advertising (Oates et al, 2003). Often conducted by psychologists, research tends to be quantitative rather than qualitative (Oates et al, 2003). A qualitative approach therefore is considered more difficult as it involves

different skills when dealing with participants which is thus important when uncovering social phenomena.

In opening each focus group session, the researcher introduced themselves whilst simultaneously introducing the purpose of the focus group session, explaining to participants the reasons why they have been invited, as well as, explaining the ground rules. Participants were then asked to sign and agree their informed consent (Appendix 5) which explained what the participants were being asked to do, their rights, how privacy and confidentiality would be secured, and contact information should there be any questions or queries. Each focus group was given a 90-minute timespan, however as seen with focus group 4 (largest of the focus groups with 8 participants), it lasted 127 minutes. The researcher opened each session with a fun, non-threatening, open-ended question (Appendix 6). Krueger (2002) suggests this gives participants the comfort to speak in front of the group. Charmaz (2014) advises facilitators to pay attention to non-verbal signals, insofar participants might send a cue that she/he has something to say or is uncomfortable. These non-verbal cues occurred throughout all four focus groups and tended to orientate around participants putting their hands up to talk when another participant was talking. The researcher's experience of facilitating focus groups ensured participants were given ample time to talk and respond (this was noted in their methodological journal). Although all four sessions were fluid when it came to discussion and debating the topic at hand, the researcher had to step in when discussions were straying off topic. The researcher ended each session by summarising key points. Participants were then asked to reflect on the main ideas, whilst invited to include any further details. In concluding each session, participants were escorted to the main entrance of the building.

All four focus groups were carried out with a semi-structured questioning framework in that the researcher would ask a question with each participant given the freedom to respond. Several researchers (Knodel, 1993; Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999; Wilkinson, 2004; Bell et al, 2018) suggest participants should be given enough flexibility to respond, irrespective of agreements and/or contradictions. That being said, the process of each focus group was the following: first the researcher would ask a question, then participants, one at a time, would respond. The researcher randomised the sequence of participant responses to ensure one voice was not overpowering another. In focus group 2, there were instances where one voice dominated discussions. The researcher

made note of this, as well as the participant acknowledging this themselves: "*I know I'm talking too much but this is something I'm passionate about and want to see us given an equal opportunity like everyone else, so I'm sorry if I'm talking over you guys*" (FGP10). Carey & Asbury (2012) recommend that when a response needs further clarification, a good facilitator should probe in order to build a comprehensive insight of the social phenomena. Probes are thus needed to get closer to the truth in a bid to gain clarity, and further details if required. For example, when a participant in focus group one linked their experiences of racism when playing a grassroots football match to representations in advertising, the researcher probed their experience:

> **FGP3:** "These ads just show to everyone what life is like for us Asians. There's a lot of racism around".
>
> **Researcher:** "When you say there's a lot of racism around, how do you think these adverts influence that?"
>
> **FGP3:** "For me personally, they just show what people are thinking. Sometimes I feel there's no point in even trying to tell them that we want to actually get into football at all levels. Just stick to what we're good at, you know, getting our education and earning a good living, supporting our families. Keep ourselves to ourselves really".

The use of visual images to help participants think critically about their lives and experiences is not new, with a range of possibilities available to researchers (Millward, 2012). These include, art, videos, pictures, advertisements, role-play, word association exercises, fantasy themes and sentence completion. All seats within the conference room where all four focus groups took place had a clear view of the television screen. Pre-confirmation of focus group location, the researcher sat in each seat to ensure all participants would have non-obstructive view of the screen. Advertisements were shown on the television screen (which was linked to the computer next to where the facilitator sat) at the mid-point of each focus group – the semi-structured questions were broken down into four separate phases. After phase 2 of the questioning (rather than have an exact time as focus group discussions varied

according to insight and group size), the researcher told participants that they were going to be shown three separate advertisements on the screen. All three advertisements were pre-loaded on the screen before each focus group commenced, meaning the researcher had to turn on the television remotely and press play. This was to ensure fluidity rather than having to take a long break to search for each advertisement. A layer of complexity unfolded in focus group 3 when one participant did not have their glasses or contact lenses. As a result, the researcher asked for a reshuffle of participants, all of which obliged without any issues or problems. Once all three advertisements were shown, the researcher turned off the television screen to ensure participants were not influenced by an image still on the screen. The researcher then asked participants subsequent questions. There was an instance in focus group one where one participant wanted the researcher to replay one of the advertisements to confirm what they were alluding to was correct.

Section 3.5.2 provides a justification of why non-BSA perceptions, attitudes and opinions of advertising representations are important, whilst simultaneously explicating methodological components.

3.5.2: Phase II: appropriateness of understanding non-BSA perceptions, attitudes and opinions of advertising representations

In regards to reaching the aim of critically evaluating how advertising (non-)representations influence BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics, it is important to include the perceptions, attitudes and opinions of non-BSAs (in this research study, non-BSAs is a term given to individuals who are not of BSA heritage). This is for several reasons. Firstly is the fact that advertising representations are not limited to one specific community. Second is to identify and evaluate how non-BSAs perceive each advertisement. Third, which links into the first and second points, is the fact that the majority of English football gatekeepers are of non-BSA backgrounds (coaches, managers, scouts BBC, 2017). Allen (2002) purports how there are distinctive socio-cultural differences between BSAs and non-BSAs, thus it is important to analyse whether this phenomena exists within the perceptions of advertising representations.

Obtaining the perceptions of non-BSAs offers a well-rounded account of the significance of advertising to BSA football inclusion/exclusion. It was appropriate to

hold a single focus group in a bid to obtain an understanding of how non-BSAs see the advertisements. The use of focus groups was discussed in section 3.5.1.1. Section 3.5.2.1 assesses participant selection and gaining access.

3.5.2.1: Participant selection and gaining access

Bringing forth the notion of 'purposeful sampling' (Bryman, 2015), the target for Phase II was delivering a focus group comprised entirely of non-BSA people. The importance of group composition was also introduced during the participant sampling and gaining access stage. Unlike Phase I, when it came to compatibility, it was necessary that all participants were of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as the aim was to reflect the contemporary British reality where multiculturalism is the norm (Gilroy, 2017). Furthermore, a mix of both males and females were actively sought in order to reflect the male and female ratio in Britain (51% females and 49% males, Census, 2011). When it came to cohesiveness, it was important to ensure the social identity of each participant did not impact their position amongst the group. It is thus the researcher's responsibility to promote fluidity of discussions within the focus group.

A two-dimensional approach to accessing potential participants consisted of a social media campaign (Twitter and LinkedIn) and face-to-face interactions at a Coventry-based leisure centre. Those who were willing to participate were given the opportunity to attend a focus group across two dates (two dates were declared, with the idea that the date with the most attendees will go ahead, with participants who chose the other date given the opportunity to attend). 'TheHub' at Coventry University was chosen for the location of the focus group for three reasons: (i) centrality of location, (ii) conference room availability and (iii) ease of access. Participants were sent logistical information (location, transport routes, car parking and focus group time), a participation information sheet and Coventry University's code of practice.

Table 11 (page 116) illustrates the participant information logs of Phase II's focus group. In terms of the male and female ratio, there was 1 female and 4 males. In terms of ethnic diversity, there were 2 White British, 1 Latvian and 2 Afro-Caribbean. In

terms of religions, 3 were Christian and 2 were Atheist. Finally, the ages ranged from 18-50. Unfortunately, there were 2 'no shows'.

Participant No.	Gender	Ethnicity	Birth Year	Religion	Occupancy	Marital Status
FGP31	M	White British	1986	Christian	Self Employed	Single
FGP32	F	White British	1997	Atheist	Student	Single
FGP33	M	Latvian	1989	Atheist	Self Employed	Single
FGP34	M	Afro-Caribbean	1996	Christian	Volunteer	Single
FGP35	M	Afro-Caribbean	1972	Christian	Sales Associate	Married
FGP36	NO SHOW					
FGP37	NO SHOW					

Table 11: Phase II focus group participant information log

Section 2.5.2.2 evaluates the focus group dynamic with a focus on facilitation, questions which were asked and how advertisements were used.

3.5.2.2: Focus group dynamic

The focus group was conducted in a conference room which seats 10 people at Coventry University's TheHub Centre. The room was equipped with a 40inch television screen which was linked to a computer. The same digital voice recorders which were used in Phase I were used in Phase II. They were placed at the centre of the conference room table to ensure all voices were heard equally. With the focus group being held at 6:30pm, the researcher had time to test all the equipment and pre-load the advertisements on the computer via YouTube. Participants were greeted at the main entrance and were escorted upstairs to the conference room where they were given the opportunity to talk to other participants and have some drinks and snacks.

The focus group session was facilitated by the researcher. The Positionality and Reflexivity section (page 122) provides a comprehensive evaluation of researcher

identity in regards to the relationship with participants. The same protocols that existed in all four focus groups in Phase I were replicated in this focus group (i.e. introductions, participant protocols and processes). What did change however, was the predicted timespan (focus group stayed centred on media and advertising representations, rather than on a variety of other socio-cultural dynamics which existed across Phase I) – focus group lasted 42 minutes. Similarly, non-verbal cues were examined as to expressions of discomfort or wanting an opportunity to talk. With the researcher's previous experience of facilitating focus groups, all non-verbal cues were addressed. Some participants raised their hands when they wanted to interject. The researcher ended the focus group sessions by summarising the key points which were covered. In concluding the focus group, participants were escorted to the main entrance of the building.

The focus group was carried out with a semi-structured questioning framework, insofar the facilitator would ask a question (Appendix 7), with each participant then given the time and freedom to respond. Participants were initially asked questions regarding their thoughts, feelings and attitudes towards the media and its influence on perceptions and perspectives. They were then shown each advertisement, followed by an open-floor discussion. The researcher did intervene when conversations went off topic or when a response needed probing. The themes addressed in the focus group ranged from how important the media is in constructing a narrative (variances of truth), of politics, communities and business relations (the researcher made a note that at the time of this focus group, discussions of Brexit were rampant across all media outlets), to advertising, brand positioning and target consumers. What was an interesting phenomenon was the fact that participants automatically rated the advertisements in accordance from favourite to least favourite without any prompt from the researcher. This was not on the agenda, but demonstrates the flexibility Kitzinger (2005) describes when searching for 'truth' in a focus group. Brief notes were taken during the focus group and included within the researcher's methodological journal.

Having described the methodological process of Phase II, section 3.5.3 explains the appropriateness of evaluating perceptions, attitudes and experiences of BSAs who have/are operated/operating within the sport environment.

3.5.3: Phase III: appropriateness of evaluating the perceptions, attitudes and experiences of BSA operating within the sport environment

Phase III was focused on evaluating the perceptions, attitudes and experiences of BSAs who are currently, or have previously operated within (semi-)professional sport. This was for several important reasons. Firstly was to explore the reason why participants focused on pursuing a career in sport. Secondly was to identify the barriers and/or facilitators they came across. Thirdly was to assess and categorise their experiences of being an 'Other' in relation to their success in sport. Fourthly was to obtain an understanding of how influential the media is in contemporary Britain, and how it influences the BSA and sport paradox. In exploring these phenomena, the researcher adopted a semi-structured approach to interviews.

3.5.3.1: Semi-structured interviews

It is widely accepted that semi-structured interviews generate rich data (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; McCoyd & Kerson, 2006; Liamputtong, 2009; Saunders et al, 2009). According to Charmaz (2014:56) they "typically mean a gently-guided, one-sided conversation that explores research participants' perspective on their personal experience with the research topic". Others appreciate its use as a tool for 'conceptual mapping' (Kinchin et al, 2010:54) – a sense of being able to really delve into one's understanding of phenomena, how they frame their views and how they make connections and relationships. Unlike other forms of research methods, semi-structured intensive interviews can, at a distance, account for what values are 'correlated', and how strongly they are associated to one's self-meaning (Hochschild, 2009). During each interview, the participant talks, the researcher listens, encourages when necessary, and learns.

For interpretive enquiry, using intensive techniques (as is often the case in semi-structured interviews) is useful because of its significance in understanding research participant's language, meanings and actions, emotions and body language (Bryman, 2015). This allows the researcher to guide the topic in accordance to how the participant (re)acts. Reactions are the basis for what happens next and a competent researcher knows when something is too sensitive or when to dig deeper (Charmaz,

2009). Typically, all interviews are complex situations, as participants have "problems to solve, goals to pursue, actions to perform, and they hold assumptions, form ideas, and have feelings about all these concerns" (Charmaz, 2014:57-58).

Although centred on the participant's voice, when it comes to interviews, the researcher/facilitator/moderator inevitably brings their own priorities, preconceptions, concerns, knowledge and understandings, of which may not be compatible to that of the participant and can, in some cases, affect the 'truth' (Charmaz, 2014). It is advised that the researcher's/facilitator's/moderator's own ideals do not affect or mislead interviews. However, in practice this can be difficult to implement due to the fact that human judgement is unavoidable (Andrew et al, 2011). One way to address this issue is to reflect upon how the researcher's/facilitator's/moderator's identity and position can influence research (Positionality and Reflexivity section, page 122 explores this phenomenon). For instance, Ferranto (2013) found it extremely difficult to disengage her own identity when interviewing participants of the same Mexican-American community who went through discrimination, racism and exclusion during their initial migration to the United States of America. To help alleviate such influence, Rubin & Rubin (2005) suggest interviewers should develop an interview guideline to help direct the interview process, but claim it should remain there to assist rather than act as a strict guide. For this reason, the researcher developed an interview guide (Appendix 8) which featured an *initial*, *intermediate* and *ending* questioning protocol. Section 3.5.3.1 explores participant sampling and gaining access processes for Phase III.

3.5.3.2: Participant selection and gaining access

Interviewing requires being able to access human subjects who have knowledge of a particular phenomenon being investigated and are willing to talk about that phenomena in detail (Andrew et al, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). This then makes the identification of subjects critical to the success of any research study. Fontana & Frey (2005) suggest a strategy to target particular individuals: use an insider (a member of the group being studied). This is because insiders will have established an insight into an individuals' experiences, thus has the ability to choose who would be suitable for a particular research study.

Access to potential participants for Phase III was established via the researcher's insider status in sport. As sport has evolved to become a multifunctional entity (no longer just the playing element Beech & Chadwick, 2013), it was critical to get the voices of those who operate, or who have operated within football in Britain. A phenomenon which has been highlighted by Sporting Equals (2014) is the fact that inclusion for minorities tend to vary dependent on the role and responsibility, insofar administrative roles (i.e. white collar roles) are fast becoming more attractive to minorities over pursuing a career *playing* sport.

There were two main routes to finding participants. First was through the researcher's professional relations. Having been an active member in the 'Asians in Football Movement',, the researcher has worked on several practice-led research programmes with two prominent charities and has consulted with a national sports body. Second was through the researcher's recreational playing career. Having played grassroots football at various levels, the researcher has had the opportunity to play with, and against several BSAs who have gone onto, or have played at the semi-professional level. Both these roles has enabled the researcher to build relations with potential participants.

Potential participants were identified and contacted via email or through a third-party. In total, 10 participants were identified, however, only 6 were willing to participate. Table 12 (page 121) shows the participant information logs for Phase III, in addition to how each participant was accessed. These are valuable to compare and contrast experiences, perceptions and attitudes.

Title/Occupation	Gender	Religion	Generation	Accessed
Sports Physician	Male	Muslim	Second	Employment
Sports Broadcaster/Presenter	Male	Hindu	Second	Employment
UEFA B Qualified Coach	Female	Muslim	Second	Playing & Employment
Semi-Professional Footballer	Male	Sikh	Third	Playing
Semi-Professional Footballer	Male	Sikh	Third	Playing
FA Level 5 & 4 (Semi-Professional) Referee	Male	Muslim	Third	Playing

Table 12: Phase III participant information log

3.5.3.3: The interview process

Over the past decade, the use of VoIP (Video over Internet Protocol) has become a popular data collection method in qualitative research (Hay-Gibson, 2009; Bertrand & Bourdeau, 2010). Skype and facetiming are the two popular methods of VoIP. Nevertheless, the traditional format of face-to-face interviews, is still considered to be the 'gold standard' in relation to its validity and rigour (McCoyd & Kerson, 2006). Other advantages are based on the fact that they allow for the interviewer to read body language, facial expressions and emotions (Opdenakker, 2006), in addition to the argument that interview length can be longer since the participant has a greater commitment to participate (Marshall, 2016). Some disadvantages which are propagated are to do with time consumption and cost (Marshall, 2016).

All participants were sent (via email) a participant information sheet (Appendix 9), and an informed consent sheet (Appendix 10) prior to each interview. The locations of the interviews varied: (i) two took place in Birmingham, (ii) two took place in London, and (iii) two took place on the Coventry University Campus. One of the interviews, which took place in London, had to be approved by the participant's agent/manager. Andrew et al (2011) claim barriers-to-entry will naturally appear when looking to interview an individual who is in the public eye, however the authors

suggest it is essential for researchers to gain trust and establish a rapport with potential interviewees.

Section 3.5 has provided a comprehensive assessment of the data collection methods of all three phases of this research. A critical aspect to consider when dealing with different stakeholders is the notion of researcher positionality and their ability to deal with difficulties, insecurities, sensitivities and differences (Mortenson & Kirsch, 1996; Chavez, 2008; Karnieli-Miller et al, 2009; Berger, 2015; Hennink et al, 2015). Consequently, it is imperative to highlight the researcher's positionality and reflexivity – the intangible nature of researcher identity means one cannot strip away who they are, what they feel or how they act (Chavez, 2008). Section 3.6 provides a comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon.

3.6: Reflexivity & Positionality: involvement of researcher

"Reflexivity is commonly viewed as the process of a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of researcher's positionality as well as active acknowledgement and explicit recognition that this position may affect the research process and outcomes" (Berger, 2013:2).

The reflexivity and positionality within the framework of qualitative research is oftentimes misunderstood, and in most cases, under-appreciated (Charmaz, 2008). When evaluating inclusion/exclusion dynamisms in the marketplace, Saren et al (2019:6) argue that it is important to recognise and account for 'positionality', or the "various positions we, and those of the community being researched, occupy in the field, the different power relationship that exist, and to be aware of how these shift and influence which narratives are produced".

Fundamentally, scholars (e.g. Grier et al, 2017) have called for positionality and reflexivity accounts, in regards to assessing the positioning of the 'researcher-researched dynamic' when researching topics centred on race and racialisations. In short, the consensus is that the researcher's own identity can oftentimes affect research outcomes (Karnieli-Miller et al, 2009). As a result, this research study required increased reflexivity in understanding the innate associations, relationships

and connections between the: (i) researcher's personal self, (ii) himself as a researcher, (iii) himself as a 'cultural insider', (iv) and himself as a 'cultural outsider'. Hence, a critical self-reflection is required continually throughout the entirety of this research, relating to researcher presence and accountability, as well as prior experiences, influences and knowledge of subject matter (Clarke, 2005).

A key tenet within the interpretivist methodological approach is transparency, in regards to the subjective nature and interpretations made throughout the research process by the researcher (Bryman, 2012; Saunders et al, 2009). For Charmaz (1990; 1994; 2000; 2014), appreciating one's positionality and reflexivity is needed to break down: (i) what the researcher brings to the process, (ii) what he saw, and (iii) how he reacted. Such self-regulatory strategies include: (i) repeated interviews with the same participants, (ii) prolonged engagement, (iii) member checking, (iv) peer review, (vi) forming a peer-support network and (v) triangulation (Berger, 2013). The overwhelmingly favoured method among scholars is to keep a diary or research/methodological journal for 'self-supervision' which includes an 'audit trail' of judgements, directions and emotional reactions (Russel & Kelly, 2002; Valentine, 2007; Bradbudy-Jones, 2007; Ford, 2010). It begins with acknowledging own values and attitudes from the outset, alongside a critical evaluation of own perceptions of social reality. An illustration of this is seen in Figure 5 (page 124). Like Nagy Hesse-Biber (2007:326), this self-regulatory evaluation asks questions such as; 'how does who I am impact on the research process?' and 'what shapes the questions I choose to study and my approach to them?' Admittedly, this proved difficult as the researcher inherits multiple identities and is proactive in the 'Asians in football movement' which can impact outcomes. Yet, completing such evaluation would clearly determine how, if any, pre-conceived ideas could influence the research process.

		When I turned 16 I got a weekend job at Coventry City FC just working in their club shop but I came to understand how the football environment works. There was a chance to start a weekend coaching sessions at the local park on the weekends so I used to do that in the summer. It was mainly ethnic people playing speaking different languages. Was really good fun. I then got the opportunity to go to Barcelona FC club and have a session with their academy which was insightful. Again minimum ethnic faces involved from top to bottom which was a big surprise for me. When at Coventry City FC I noticed it when we would have meetings and parties. I was the only Asian at all in the club. I remember my supervisor saying to me 'you're only here to make up for the Asians'. At first I took it light heartedly but then after doing my reading I questioned the motive. I used to ask the club about their recruitment policy and aspects like that but there was no response at all when questioned. I have always been an advocate for hard work and not making excuses for failures but things were different in sport. Speaking to different people there always seemed to be what they call glass ceilings in place if you weren't white. It was scary to think that actually happens to people who want to better themselves and create a working relationship in sport.

Figure 5: Researcher attitudes and experiences of research topic

Alongside advocating the use of transparency, 'research creativity' is a facet which is an essential ingredient in qualitative research completion. This suggests efforts to highlight how one's experiences, attitudes and perceptions becomes a critical source of emotional attachment, or as Strauss & Corbin (1998:47) articulate "theories we carry with us in our heads inform our research in multiple ways". Thus, Alderson (2001) claims assumptions and stances need to be made explicit, rather than remain tacit. The researcher's role throughout the research process was considered to be 'fluid' (Charmaz, 2014), programming himself to act as: (i) designer, (ii) interpreter, (iii) councillor, (iv) writer and (vi) constructor, whilst also accountable for the direction of the research (Clarke, 2005).

It is not uncommon for academics, scholars and industry practitioners to highlight their positionality and reflexive accounts, skimming over ways in which the 'self' both was influential and was influenced in research realms (Stockdale, 2017), or simple recognition to how it negatively or positively affected their research process (Chavez, 2008). Albeit, this act is sufficient when such narratives assume a singular and stable 'researcher identity', little has been published when concerns have been raised when one has multiple identity affiliations (see also Grier et al, 2017).

Researcher positioning examples tend to be orientated on: (i) personal characteristics (i.e. gender, race, age, sexual orientation, and immigration status), (ii) personal experiences, (ii) beliefs and (iv) biases (Primeau, 2003; Hamzeh & Oliver, 2010). However, contemporary arguments have been made that research positionality and researcher identity actually intertwine, becoming a multifaceted construct, capable, within the research environment, of having deal-breaking consequences (Charmaz, 2008).

Focusing on the binary contrasts of 'insider' and 'outsider' positions, Dawson (2010:177) attests to characteristic variations such as 'provisional insider' (reflects an assured acceptance of the bounded nature of participant-researcher observations), 'potential real-insider' (reflects that of someone who could 'convert' to a new insider position) and 'counterfeit insider' (reflects an explicit discomfort on the part of someone trying to replicate others). All very much emphasising similar traits with few differences. Banks (1998) defines 'Insiderness' along a non-evasive cross-cultural continuum where one's positionality resides on the community in which one is socialised. As a result of such distinctions, the researcher's own experiences of being brought up in an 'all-South Asian environment' (Nesbitt, 2000) means he migrates more towards being an 'indigenous insider' whereby he is "…socialised in the community, has greatest ascribed closeness and endorses the values, perspectives and knowledge of his or her community and culture and is perceived by people within the community as a legitimate community member who can speak with authority about is" (Chavez, 2008:475). Nevertheless, Labaree (2002) endorses the notion that individual dynamics can change over time. For instance, assimilating into a different culture or being raised in a different religious setting. She advocates the immovable variable of 'time' to situations. In relation to the researcher's own positioning, he is no longer dependent on his parent's values, deciding to explore other ventures – one of which was focusing on sport at a young age. Having said that, he still practices his Sikh faith, majority of his personal friends are of similar ethnic backgrounds and is still hooked on a Punjabi media diet.

This new look at 'Insiderness' demonstrates the complex nature of researcher positionality: multifarious focus on in-group and out-group dynamisms – culture, religions etc. Unpredictable as it maybe, BSAs are notoriously sensitive to a researcher of their own ethno-racial background choosing to research them (see

Ratna, 2011; 2014). However, these 'researcher-researched' connections tend to impact the process positively in three major ways: (i) easier access to the field (De-Tona, 2006), (ii) nature of research, in that respondents may be more willing to share their sensitive views and experiences to someone whom they perceive as sympathetic and similar to themselves (Berger, 2015), (iii) worldview and background of the researcher affects the way they construct the world, their familiarity with the language and their filtering of information (Kacen & Chaitin, 2006).

The researcher in this study, bringing experiences of social reality through his own personal, political and professional beliefs links into the interpretivist foundation. These include views of the current state of sport, football's status among BSAs, previous consultation among football professionals and own experiences rooting from the amateur (grassroots) to semi-professional levels. A bounded sense of self leads us to the difficulty in researching 'same ethnicity' participants (Song & Parker, 1995). In its most abstract form, the goal being to critically evaluate why English football still harbours a lack of BSAs, the researcher's own identity comes into play as the "…researcher is co-participant as she/he positions her/himself in relation to participants, and participants position themselves in relation to how a researcher perceives or behaves" (Chavez, 2008:475). In this case, gathering rich data from a community the researcher belongs to can have detrimental effects on ease of entry, participant truthfulness and rate of sensitive discussions. Admitting to being ill-informed of such intangible factors, prominent South-Asian scholar Jaspal (2011; 2015) witnessed this first hand with his research on BSA groups and their 'half-hearted responses'.

The researcher's first-hand experience in a variety of hierarchal positions in sport means that he has a high degree of familiarity its culture and operations. This level of familiarity presents the risk of generalising, basing such assertions on his very own experiences, forgetting for example each individual has their very own story and pathway to tell. His experiences as a semi-professional and amateur football player means he has an appreciation of how the 'dressing room' team culture functions and what can be passed off as harmless 'banter', or strict discipline. Moreover, his experiences in the corporate world, including working for a football club and consulting for community-focused sport organisations provided him with an array of diverse perspectives. For example, he vividly remembers the overwhelming emotion

he felt when he was declined a position at a professional academy, or the sense of personal fulfilment when he helped deliver a £105,100 funding grant to a community-based health organisation. Each individual deals with disappointment in their own way, but as pointed out by Kilvington (2016), many BSAs question the recruitment infrastructure in football. Such statements can indeed influence data gathering techniques (Carney, 2013), however Charmaz (2014:156) suggests "every researcher holds preconceptions that influence, but may not determine, what we attend to and how we make sense of it". By this understanding, it's relevant to acknowledge these observations, but implementing a rigorous structure of memo-writing and thoroughly updating the methodological journal will help eliminate misunderstandings, whilst also justify directions of key findings. Remaining transparent and conscious of these perspectives and not assuming that all BSA share these ideas is important for the validity and reliability of this research.

Cited in a similar research project, Ford (2013) reflects on her problematic experiences of leading participants in a way which suited her own political and personal assumptions. With an obvious connection to majority of the participants, the researcher needs to be aware of a temptation to analyse data in a way that suits his own thought processes, in addition to allowing contradictory responses to shine through (Clarke, 2005). Recognising her misdemeanours, Ford (2013:18) dealt with them by constantly reiterating; "how was I to deal with data that did not conform?" and "how was I to deal with the negatives and the instances where I was at risk of possible 'over-interpretation' of the data?". Asking himself similar questions whilst analysing was critical, especially whilst 'initial coding' was progressing as coding at this stage could indeed denounce his interpretations.

Combining all the above-mentioned influences, it is important to acknowledge that personality of the researcher in this study will knowingly change throughout each of the research phases. There is a need to understand how this effects data gathering, interpretations of data and its analysis. By using Chavez's (2008) 'Methodological Advantages and Complications of Insider Positionality Framework', the researcher has critically examined his own influences to proceeding in each of the phases. Reflexivity of each phase is presented below illustrating to the reader how and/or if the researcher's identity influenced and affected data collection, outcome and interpretations.

3.6.1: Phase 1: 'insider' positionality

The goal of Phase I was to establish: (i) the broader 'problem' associated with a lack of BSAs in football, as well as to evaluate (ii) perceptions of advertising representations. Both were intertwined, rather than discussed separately. What cannot be remised was the researcher's insider positionality whereby he understood the "cognitive, emotional, and/or psychological precepts of participants as well as possess a more profound knowledge of the historical and practical happenings of the field" (Chavez, 2008:481). Table 13 (page 129) demonstrates the researcher's 'Insiderness' throughout Phase I and the advantages and complications associated with being an insider. The BSA community provided multiple levels of insight about sport, football and human behaviour, all of which stemmed from their own lived experiences. Gathering such rich data may not have been possible if the researcher was of different ethnic or racial background. Such advantages originates from what Chavez (2008:480) agrees as a unique "subject-object position, where participants perceive me as a friend and not foe".

Advantages of Insider Status	Complication of Insider Status
Positionality Equalised relationship between researcher and participants ▪ Understanding of individual interpretations ▪ Social network – ease of entry ▪ Ability to appreciate cultural & neighbourhood assertions ▪ Understanding historical precepts *Access* Multiple avenues of gaining access (family, friends, employment, religion, hobbies) ▪ Access to current perceptions, opinions and perspectives *Data Collection/Interpretation/Representation* Knowledge of current & historical happenings in the field ▪ Detection of non-verbal gestures of un-comfort ▪ Stimulation of natural interaction & behaviour ▪ Ability to understand phrases such as 'you know what I mean?' [although participants were consistently asked to elaborate] ▪ Ethnic & religious understanding of particular statements	*Positionality* Unusual for participants to see researcher's 'dual identity' [community member & researcher] ▪ Contrasting social roles. Over-reliance on following ethical procedures ▪ Unfamiliarity with university setting *Access* N/A *Data Collection/Interpretation/Representation* Bias in selecting participants ▪ Expectation for participants to discuss everything ▪ Difficulty in recognising information patterns due to familiarity with participants. ▪ Discussions about topic have been held informally in the past with some participants ▪ Requests to share experiences. Older generation understandably uncomfortable with this ▪ Constant readdressing of participant statements ▪ Asian-to-Asian social generalising - understood to share 'gossip' with others

Table 13: Phase I 'insider' positionality

Upon initial entry to the field, the researcher had a unique realisation and practical knowledge of Insiderness through his prior work with BSAs, but lacked the theoretical foundation to further his academic position. Nevertheless, he soon learned insider position equates to more than being visually seen as the same; a surprising omission by so many insider scholars (see Thompson & Gunter, 2011). Beoku-Betts (1994:430) found this in her study when researching same-ethnicity participants, stating she "came to realise that while the insider standpoint was a valid approach to the research process it was more fragile and complex than it is often portrayed as being". The fragility and complexity was evident in this study. Unlike his prior experiences, the researcher found his identity as a researcher and his identity as a sport enthusiast meant the crossover was consistently questioned. Participants did not see him as a researcher, they saw him as a 'subject-expert researcher' and answering

their sporting questions seemed to elevate his insider position, thus gaining their acceptance. What was important to instil from the outset was that his primary position was a researcher with a goal to meet, and positions such as family member, friend and 'sporting expert' were secondary.

One of the most overstated advantages of being an insider is this idea that researchers instinctively acknowledge and understand the cognitive, emotional and psychological principles of participants, in addition to possessing a knowledge of historical events (Hall & Gallery, 2001). However, that can only be guaranteed if participants are willing to allow the researcher to be classed as 'us' rather than 'him/her' – an 'inside-outsider' (Thompson & Gunter, 2011). One instance which caught the researcher off-guard was when one of the participants discussed the genocide of Indian Sikhs in 1984. Although it was not deemed a test for acceptance, the participant felt it was important to see if the researcher had the credibility in undertaking such BSA-focused research.

Reflecting back on proceedings, to bridge the gap between participants' initial detachment which the researcher experienced from the get-go, to gaining what he perceived as their full support, he formed what he calls a 'participant access sequence'. It is important to note that this sequence was completed on two sets of focus group participants – those who knew him previously, hence needed clarification on his academic credentials and those who had no previous connection to him. Writing in his methodological journal (seen in Figure 6, page 131), the steps the researcher took were to; (i) let participants tell me about their overall views, (ii) discuss why this was needed to be done, (iii) discuss who this was going to benefit, (iv) discuss his academic and/or sporting credentials, (v) discuss who this research is aimed at. Albeit peculiar, completing this sequence would either pledge their involvement, or it would see a more hesitant respondent.

21/10/2016	Focus Group #1	This focus group was interesting. Talked about a wide range of issues happening in football and sport currently. A lot of the comments have already been discussed in relation to section 1. Stereotyping, Role Models etc. However, one of the things I didn't expect to hear was their views on the media before we talked about it. Once one of the guys talked about it they all got involved. At first it was quite difficult getting them to speak as they saw me as superior in the field. The power play was on my side which is not good. When they walked in a friend said "I didn't know you were a researcher. Tell me about how you got here?" I didn't want to spend as much time going through my credentials. Another participant (who I don't know) asked me about my previous football encounters. I spent about 15 minutes discussing these with the group. I knew things were just going to carry on the way they were so I changed tactic; 1. Let participants tell me about themselves 2. Talk about why this research needs to be done 3. Talked about getting more Asians in football 4. Highlighted why I was best for the job 5. Talked about who this research is for Need to keep this in mind for the next focus group. Also, it seemed very military. No one was willing to speak over each other or have a debate which was interesting. I think I might have influenced this as some of the people didn't know each other and seemed shy. From my position, it might be worth tinkering the questions a little to try and get much more dialogue between participants.

Figure 6: Example of research journal in regards to Phase I focus group dynamics

Although the benefits of 'Insiderness' outweighed the negatives, insider positions and familiarity carry the risks of blurring boundaries where the researcher imposes his own values, beliefs, and perceptions, all of which is a projection of biases (Drake, 2010). Further, it has been recognised that a 'dual identity' of the researcher and a member of the community being studied can influence and shape outcomes (Brayboy, 2000; Chaudhry, 2000).

One factor which was difficult to determine was withholding of information from participants. Withholding information is out of the control of the researcher, however what was intriguing was the fact that the first and second generation participants seemed more reserved than their younger generation counterparts. This may be due to them not wanting to re-experience the difficulties they faced (Kilvington, 2015), or because they did not want the younger generation to be discouraged in their sporting assimilation.

What can be clarified is that the researcher's positionality figured very much in the insider continuum. The positives outweighed the negatives in this particular phase. Yet, in the overall scheme of this research study, his positionality and reflexivity will inevitably change/alter depending on who he the participants are. For this particular phase, his position fluctuated mildly between being an indigenous insider, insider based on his sporting experiences and an insider-outsider because he was the only academic in the room. The fluctuation was relative to that of what topic was being discussed. This constant shifting between insider positions is termed the 'space between' (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Stockdale (2017:14) encountered this 'space between', projecting that she was "…initially wary of combing my two roles and had hoped to keep my identities as a researcher and employee separate", going onto stating how he overcame such discrepancies "…it is clear now that from the very start of the project this desire to keep my two identities separate influenced my approach and meant I could not gather the rich data I had wished to". Similarly, the researcher also looked to keep his two identities separate, however that would have pre-empted conscious separation and influenced flow of the focus groups, something which interpretivists value highly.

3.6.2: Phase II: 'provisional outsider' positionality

As this phase's primary goal was to evaluate how non-BSA perceive football-related advertising, it can be agreed the researcher's position stayed fixed. Because the researcher's racial appearance did not match that of participants, the researcher was in theory, an outsider. To be an outsider means "being someone who may not fully understand the behaviours, values and beliefs of the group under study" (Fletcher, 2014:6). This course of Outsiderness undervalues the extent to which a researcher 'understands' those under study. It therefore can be argued the researcher was not any outsider, as his relationship with participants was based on pre-academic affiliations through social events – his boxing club, thus knowing their values and behaviours. Because there are limited amounts of literature explaining such phenomenon, the concept of a 'provisional outsider' is put forward. To be a provisional outsider, one is not immersed in the ethnic or racial make-up of participants yet has a similar province of social values and interests. This idea of the two being mutually exclusive is debunked through this phase.

Table 14 (page 134) presents the characteristics placed on being a provisional outsider within the precincts of this phase. Though not an influence which can be altered, participants saw the researcher as a marketplace expert, critiquing their responses to advertising representations. This form of researcher power position meant participants may have been withdrawn with what they actually wanted to say.

Under the influence of postmodern literary theories, some researchers (e.g. Denzin, 2003) claim that we are all outsiders to each other, inasmuch society is made up of individualised people meaning we cannot fully understand how one thinks and acts. Such outsider appropriateness is endorsed in social research as "outsiders tend to get the best out of their data" (Thompson & Gunter, 2011:12). These claims are refuted in this study as one cannot change the research topic at hand, his passion for introducing practical policies to help further the 'Asians in football movement', nor can the researcher's identity be manipulated to produce what Thompson & Gunter (2011:2) label as "taken-for-granted events, mores and teleologies".

Advantages of 'Provisional Outsider' Status	Complication of 'Provisional Outsider' Status
Positionality ▪ Formal academic relationship between researcher and participants ▪ Entirely objective – minimum bias to what participants voiced ▪ Provisional outsider status meant participants felt rewarded when attending ▪ Understanding of individual interpretations ▪ Social media – ease of entry ▪ Multiple commonalties with participants *Access* ▪ Access granted through social media platform Twitter ▪ Approval of further investigation if required *Data Collection/Interpretation/Representation* ▪ Knowledge of advertising effectiveness – enabled me to understand interpretations theoretically ▪ Being seen as an 'academic' above all else eliminated any personal motives ▪ Stimulation of natural interaction and behaviour ▪ Participants had varied backgrounds = different perspectives	*Positionality* ▪ Obligation to participate in an academic rhetoric – participants were told to be themselves ▪ Power-position – participants thought they were inferior to researcher in study context *Access* ▪ N/A *Data Collection/Interpretation/Representation* ▪ Saw me as a person critiquing their responses ▪ Participants felt I was acting on behalf of one of the advertising brands – reducing their criticism of advertisements

Table 14: Phase II 'outsider' positionality

Unlike Phase I where the researcher's position differed depending on line of questioning, for this phase his position stayed static. Being able to have a fixed 'provisional outsider' positionality has its positives and negatives. The researcher felt the factor trending throughout the focus group was the power dynamics and how it may have affected research outcomes. The power relay in research domains is intangible and felt equally by participants and researcher (Karnieli-Miller et al, 2009). The roles of the researcher and the focus group participants were mutually exclusive. For provisional outsiders it can be argued "the researcher alone contributes to the thinking that goes into the project, and the subjects contribute the action or contents to be studied" (Reason, 1994:42). This sense of responsibility was clearly evident, yet from the researcher's perspective did not influence discussions.

3.6.3: Phase III: 'total insider' positionality

The most recognisable position along the positionality continuum is the 'total insider'. Total insiders "share multiple identities (e.g. race, ethnicity, class, gender) or profound experiences (e.g. wars, family membership)" (Chavez, 2008:475). There is also the 'partial insider' who "shares a single identity (or few identities) with a degree of distance or detachment from the community" (Chavez, 2008:475). Yet, Banks (1998) acknowledges the reference to 'total insiders' needs a cross-cultural emphasis based not only on the community in which the researcher resides in but also the hobbies, passions and social environment in which one prefers. The fact that the researcher is (i) of similar ethnic and racial background, (ii) has a deep-lying passion for sport and (iii) has been overwhelmingly proactive in improving South-Asians in sport means the dynamic of researcher-researched positions may subconsciously been influenced by this cross-cultural duality. Adopting both Chavez's (2008) and Bank's (1998) stance on Insiderness, it is without doubt, the researcher was considered a 'total insider' throughout this phase.

In addition to the trivialities of gaining access described earlier, there are many realities in which total insiders have to be weary of when gaining access, interpreting and analysing data. Table 15 (page 136) demonstrates the advantages and complications of being a total insider in the context of evaluating those BSAs who have 'succeeded' in English football. One of the overwhelmingly common occurrences in interviews is that total insider researchers tend to want to maximise their input and promote the narrative to match their own perceptions or political beliefs (Beoku-Betts, 1994; Merriam et al, 2001). It is however important to note this tends to happen without any conscious reconciliation, rather researchers find they have influenced interviews when they start transcribing.

Advantages of 'Total Insider' Status	Complication of 'Total Insider' Status
Positionality ▪ 'Academic appreciative' relationship between researcher and participants ▪ Understanding of individual interpretations ▪ Professional and social network – ease of entry ▪ Ability to appreciate cultural assertions ▪ Understanding historical precepts ▪ Multiple identities discovered – fan, player, academic, Asian, male, religion *Access* ▪ Access granted through professional working relationships ▪ Access to current perceptions, experiences and attitudes ▪ 3 participants were accessed through 'Asians in Sport' conference ▪ Approval of further investigation if required *Data Collection/Interpretation/Representation* ▪ Knowledge of experiences and influences of success and/or failure ▪ Being seen as an 'academic' above all else eliminated any personal motives ▪ Stimulation of natural interaction and behaviour ▪ Professional relationship – making interpretation easy ▪ Ethnic, religious and cultural understanding of particular statements ▪ Different occupations = different experiences	*Positionality* ▪ Illusion that academics are there to criticise ▪ Willingness to speak to 'another' researcher/academic ▪ Co-operation of researcher into responses ▪ Responses affected by participants' perceptions, expectations and interpretations of researcher's identity ▪ Gaining competitive advantage for professional workplace – some participants have ambassadorial responsibilities with competitors ▪ Conflict between interview format and community conservational style ▪ Undertaking cultural, moral and social obligations *Access* ▪ Gained through rigorous inquiry ▪ Thoroughness of anonymity ▪ Required an understanding of research outcomes; including updates on publications *Data Collection/Interpretation/Representation* ▪ Asian-to-Asian social generalising – understood to share 'gossip' with others ▪ Participant expectation for them to discuss every experience ▪ Formal relationship with participants. May have impeded general discussion

Table 15: Phase III 'total insider' positionality

In the researcher's case, being a member of the 'ethnic family' created challenges to conducting a 'good' interview. First, and perhaps attributed to a sense of participant personal ethnic and cultural pride, was the regularity in acknowledging the researcher's identity. In four of the six interviews, phrases like, "you know what I mean" and more often than not the researcher decided against providing a follow-up question or comment to refocus the interview on their elaboration of their response. Again, this was mainly due to interview comfort and discussions being in-depth, not wanting to break participants' flow. There were times nonetheless where follow-up

questions were close to leading or redirecting, as the researcher replied in one interview: “oh right. Such and such happened to me. Was that how it was for you?” Chavez (2008) nonetheless notes that such type of disclosure of researcher’s own lived experiences may help re-engage participant memories of their own experiences which may not have emerged without such a personal comment. Trying not to project oneself on another, the negotiation of subject-object positions during interviews is more of a subconscious occurrence rather than an outward ploy to influence research narratives (Miller, 1997; Scheiberg, 1990).

Second, was creating a list of potential participants. As the researcher contacted ten potential participants, others, mainly of semi-professional backgrounds heard through the grapevine that this research was being conducted and the research had requested ‘certain’ footballers over others. This form of what was initially perceived as favouritism was nonetheless due to: (i) participant access, having worked alongside majority of them in an employment capacity, hence acknowledge their validity, (ii) timespan of interviews, and (iii) potential location; not because the researcher favoured one over another. For instance, a semi-professional footballer from Northern England contacted the researcher after the processes was finalised insistent on him being interviewed. Although it was a light-heartened and passionate attempt to want to showcase his perceptions, experiences and attitudes, ‘forcing’ to be interviewed can be contrived of (i) wanting to manipulate results or (ii) envious of others who were interviewed.

Phase III in itself offered a unique sense of researcher accountability and personal responsibility to want to enforce change. Unlike the other research phases, whereby one-to-many was the central component, the one-to-one nature of semi-structured intensive interviews developed an emotional attachment in wanting participants to maximise their potential and establish a legacy within football.

The fluidity of positionality in research where one is (i) researching similar subjects to himself and (ii) has an irrefutable passion for the movement is critical to appreciate, evaluate and understand. Post data collection, the benefits of being able to objectively ‘feel’ the change in positioning is a feature scholars have yet to fully explore. The subject-object orientation and the flexibility of power dynamics was ever-present amongst the three phases. In her seminal work, Naples (1996:140) discussed the

insider-outsider debate and conferred that "Insiderness or Outsiderness are not fixed or static positions, rather they are ever-shifting and permeable social locations that are differentially experienced and expressed by community members". The researcher therefore has the responsibility to negotiate 'meaningful' rapport within the spectrum of his own social, ethnic and racial identities, or in relation to this study, his passion for sport and more importantly, the developing nature of South-Asians plying their trade in sport.

Overall, the fluid conceptualisation in Figure 7 is a reliable depiction of how the researcher felt his positionality changed and adjusted over the course of three phases. While 'typical' insiders are advantaged by the closeness afforded within the researcher-researched dynamic, it dually complicated the implementation and completion of this research study. Further, the shifting nature of the researcher's multiple identities revealed the fragility associated in research and how the complexity of his unique positionality meant he acquired the data he got. In accordance with scholars (e.g. Nagle & Cantaffa, 2008; Chavez, 2008), the researcher followed a systematic critical self-reflection on the effects of 'Insiderness' and 'Outsiderness'.

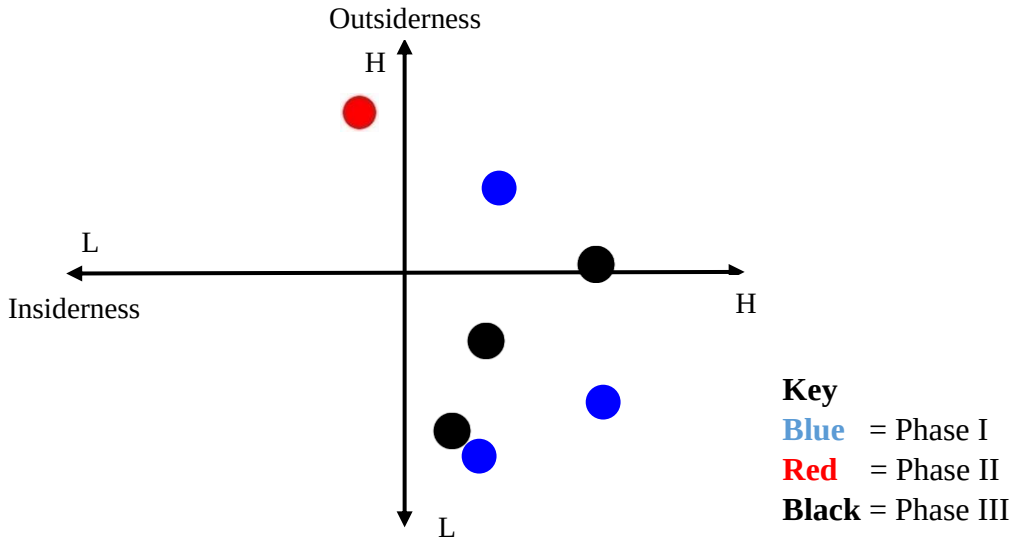


Figure 7: Illustration of changing positionality throughout three phases of research

Under the framework of critically reflecting on the self, choosing the 'right' collection method was tremendously important. By choosing focus groups and semi-structured intensive interviews, the researcher was able to contrast and compare how his identity changed throughout. Other forms would not have the leniency or capacity to negotiate such positions. As insiders are already in the position of subject and object, this research methodology allows for a critical self-reflection to be announced, making the researcher visibly accountable for his presence. As demonstrated in each of the above sections, this heightens his awareness of potential advantages and complications which broke through. Especially focusing on the intangible, forcing a static insider/outsider position would have signified more complications than advantages, thus fluidity and simply going with the flow (Fletcher, 2013) is vital in qualitative research.

3.7: Ethical considerations: before, during and after research

It is unanimous in assuming researchers are unconditionally responsible for the integrity of their overall research programme (O'Leary, 2004). Codes and policies for research ethics differ amongst organisations, agencies and practices. This research study has followed the 'Coventry University Ethics Approval System', whereby principles and codes of conduct address authenticity, security and access. Although not directly associated with Coventry University, Resnik's (2015) *Ethics Procedures* handbook has been widely adopted in research. It illustrates principles which need to be considered throughout the research process;

Principle	Context of Study
Honesty	To honestly report data, result, methods and procedures. Not to fabricate, falsify, or misrepresent data. Do not deceive colleagues and research participants.
Objectivity	An appreciation to avoid bias; may not always be an easy task. Disclose information about self if required to all involved in research.
Integrity	Keep promises and agreements; strive for consistency of thought and action.
Carefulness	Avoid careless errors and negligence. Keep good records of research activities.
Openness	Be open to any criticism. Allow participants first view of data if they request.
Respect for Intellectual Property	Understand Coventry University own the intellectual property for this research. All publications, professional reports etc. need to be approved.
Confidentiality	Protest confidential information; papers submitted for conference, participant approvals, transcriptions, analysed data.
Responsible Publication(s)	Publish in order to advance research and scholarship understanding of the subject in hand.
Social Responsibility	Strive to promote social good and prevent social harms through research.
Non-Discriminatory	Avoid discriminating any individuals or groups one comes in contact with.
Legality	Obey relevant laws and regulations in relation to research process.

Table 16: Research ethics which underpinned study *(adapted from Resnik, 2015)*

The ethical challenges and issues encountered predominately fixated on ensuring participant anonymity and confidentiality. For Phase I and Phase II, participants needed general reassurances all data outlaid was research-specific and not recycled into other projects or reports, unless requested. This was achieved by developing a participant information and informed consent sheets (see Appendices 4 and 5) which provided a detailed account of participant confidentiality alongside the fact that all data exported to other reports and projects would need approval. After discussing their use, all participants were happy with the presented disclaimer. These physical forms are safely stored in a personal locker within the university confines. Moreover, all focus groups were held in the Centre for Trust Peace and Social Relations conference room eliminating any prior safety interrogations.

Similar to the above, Phase III research participants required assurances all information was going to be solely research-specific. Again, in line with Coventry University ethics, the researcher produced participant information and informed consent sheets. However, in one case it had to be approved by their business agent first. Having overcame the initial apprehension, the interview was conducted face-to-face. An overview of what was discussed is shown in Figure 8 (page 142).

For the participants themselves, nothing was discussed regarding anonymity. This may have been due to them previously giving interviews and statements on similar issues. Albeit surplus to their personal requirements, it was important to not relay their identity, thus the researcher still operated on the basis of participants wanting full confidentiality. All physical information is stored in the same safety locker as mentioned above. Due to subject sensitivity, and the fact that these were in person focus groups and interviews, the researcher ensured venue was easily accessible and those without suitable transport were provided with alternative options. For instance, a pick-up was acquired for one participant who broke his leg a week before, unable to drive. All five Phase I and Phase II focus groups took place within the University setting. For Phase III two interviews took place within the Coventry University campus, one took place at a Birmingham-based café and three took place at the Asians in Sport Conference held at the Ernest & Young headquarters in central London. At the conference each participant had agreed to be interviewed beforehand. Each interview took place in a boardroom provided by the conference organisers. Before these three specific interviews, the researcher informally spoke to the ethics committee and they had granted permission to carry on. The option of conducting interviews via Skype was put forward, however all participants preferred face-to-face interaction.

Memo 18: Phase III 16/1/2017

If I wanted to interview #4 (refer back to list of potential participants), I had to go through his agent business agent first. All he wanted from me was clarification of what the research was about and how it would be used/disseminated. This was a first for me in the research environment. Luckily, I have dealt with agents in my other roles and knew exactly what they wanted. What was provided:

1. Participant information sheet
2. Research initiative
3. Researcher information/credentials

Figure 8: Research journal snippet – interaction with football agent

Fortunately, no other issues or regulations were need to capture intended data. In accordance with Resnik's (2015) principles, there were no changes to the intended use of data. The next section explores the data management considerations within this research study.

3.8: Reliability and Validity considerations

Reliability and validity are key aspects to all research. Meticulous attention to these two aspects can make the difference between what is considered to be good research and what is considered to be poor research. Brink (1993) makes the claim that for all qualitative-based enquiry, it is particularly vital to illustrate the verification strategies used to help limit any biases or researcher subjectivity which can cloud the interpretation of data – although Brink's (1993) articulation fails to incorporate positionality and reflexivity. Thus, in qualitative research, "the researcher is the instrument" (Patton, 2001:14). Although reliability and validity considerations offer a perspective of good or poor research, each categorisation offer distinctive accounts and strategies (Golafshani, 2003). For instance, a valid study "is concerned with the accuracy and truthfulness of findings" (Le Comple & Gotez, 1982:32), whereas a reliable study "is concerned with the consistency, stability and repeatability of the informant's accounts as well as the investigators' ability to collect and record information accurately" (Selltiz et al, 1976:182). Subsequently, this section explicates

several verification strategies the researcher used to ensure validity and reliability is met.

First is that concerned with methodological coherence to ensure congruence between research aim and choice of methods manifests the accuracy and truthfulness. The interdisciplinary nature of this study demands that the research aim matches the methods, which in turn matches the analytic process. As the research unfolded, the process became far more fluid, insofar analysis of data occurred alongside data gathering. For instance, majority of categories from Phase I were already in place before Phase II ensued, ensuring stability and accurateness.

Linked to the above, the second is the concerned with collecting and analysing data concurrently. Doing so forms a mutual interaction between what is known and what is needing to be known (Morse et al, 2002). This iterative process between data and analysis is, as this study reflects, the essence of attaining reliability and validity, as it develops real-time appreciations of problems, solutions and injustices.

Third is focused on a constant engagement with supervisory team and fellow researchers to help limit researcher bias. A major threat to the validity of research is defined as 'holistic fallacy' (Miles & Huberman, 1984) – the tendency for researchers to make data look patterned or regular. To avoid such selective attention, the researcher felt it was of paramount importance to consistently engage with his supervisory team and fellow researchers to ensure the direction of research was in fact directed by the data and not by his judgements.

Fourthly was giving all participants ample opportunity to see what their voices have manifested into. When attaining participant samples, what was made explicitly clear from the outset was that participants would (if requested) be able to access any information in regards to the direction their voices and statements were taking this research. This was to ensure direction of research reflected accurately participant accounts.

The final aspect was to think theoretically. Thinking theoretically required the researcher to understand and appreciate macro-micro perspectives, inching forward with making generalised leaps, constantly checking and re-checking data and building a solid foundation before moving onto subsequent data. Admittedly, this was a difficult process to adhere to, however one feature of the interpretive researcher is to

appreciate researcher role to data collection, interpretation, analysis and outcomes. Nevertheless, by thinking theoretically, the researcher was able to compare and contrast data without judgement.

3.9: Data Management

The sources of data in this study were: (i) focus groups and semi-structured exploratory interviews with three different stakeholders; (ii) the researcher's own personal field notes; and (iii) research memos. All three sources of data contributed to the understanding and theorising of whether football-related advertising influences BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics.

All taped recordings were transcribed solely by the researcher. This was because all participants were assured only he would transcribe and analyse data, and if any changes were to be made, he would contact participants for approval. There are recommendations amongst the literature for only transcribing 'important' parts (Taylor et al, 2015:170), however what is considered important may differ from researcher to researcher (Karnieli-Miller et al, 2009). Entire interviews and focus groups were transcribed so that the researcher did not risk losing something that might later be recognised as significant. During transcription, the researcher did create a number of memos highlighting key areas ahead of analysis. A snippet of these memos from Phase I is shown in Appendix 11.

Although time consuming, by transcribing the recordings, the researcher found it enabled him to immerse himself deep within the data and closer to the lived content of the interviews and focus groups. This meant the researcher was attuned to the sensitivity, passion and perspectives displayed by participants. Being immersed in the data meant the researcher had the chance to take an objective approach. Phrases such as '*you know what I mean'* and '*you should understand'* were prominent in all phases of discussions. It was important to take a step back and contextualise the meanings behind such phrases, rather than solely rely on interview and focus group notes. Furthermore, it can be agreed the researcher himself was immersed within discussions and topics, thus would not have been able to discern important factors. The process of

transcribing required a degree of sensitivity by transforming oral language to written text representations.

The computer-aided qualitative data management tool used was N-Vivo (QSR International 2016). The researcher attended several university and QSR-led online workshops to ensure he gained the maximum usage out of the software. In line with what the developers stated, it enabled thorough analysis and was efficient in its ability to handle masses of data input. The software was mostly used for the initial, line-by-line coding process. For the focused coding, the researcher found it was more useful to also incorporate a manual analysis technique, alongside N-Vivo. This was because the researcher found that he kept returning to the manual process more and more to compare codes and categories, creating linkages and for the researcher's memo-writing, which was compiled in Microsoft Word. At the last leg of coding he used the software less and less. The mechanical operations involved in using N-Vivo did not compare with the "nuanced interpretive analysis" (Charmaz, 2000:520) one gets when analysing data manually. This meant there was greater intimacy handling data physically rather than electronically as it enabled the researcher to get close to his data.

The researcher went back and forth to consulting the literature as coding progressed. Codes and categories were sorted and resorted, moved and revised. In any realm of research it is important to capture different iterations, directions and conceptualisations. Therefore, constantly writing memos meant justifications could be shown. It was a messy, yet fluid process. Some concepts and ideas were initially discarded, however returned later.

Because this study analyses the voices of those who are excluded in football, the decision to retain a sense of sentimentality within the coding entries was given careful consideration. The researcher wanted to ensure all voices were central and not distorted. By using Charmaz's (2014) Constructivist Grounded Theory coding method it suited the interpretive nature with what this study set out to achieve. There is a delicate balancing act in showcasing accounts, perceptions, experiences, attitudes and opinions in order to retain a degree of visibility in the text so that the reader is able to make meaningful connections. This is particularly important in this study as it crosses the spectrums of sporting identity, football inclusion/exclusion, race, gender, media

and advertising. Thus, it was essential the analytical findings gave rise to such spectrums.

There was also the potential of revealing the identity of participants, especially those who were interviewed within Phase III of this study. There is no proven way to obscure connections between participants and what they said, yet what can be established is the researcher's ability to describe said voices in the most faithful way possible, whilst still maintaining maximum confidentiality. Instead of assigning pseudonyms, identities such as 'IP1' and 'FGP19' were chosen as it maintains equal recognition amongst all participants. By keeping their words intact throughout the process of analysis, their presence was significantly maintained.

Incorporation of the researcher's own thoughts, questions and comments throughout the data collection phase serves to give context to what was being discussed. It also recognises the co-creation of meanings that takes places between the participants and researcher in interpretivism.

3.10: Coding Technique: Constructivist Grounded Theory Approach

This section aims to justify why the Constructivist Grounded Theory coding approach was best suited to understanding whether advertising (non-)representations influence BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics. This coding approach was introduced by Charmaz (2000; 2006; 2009; 2014) as a way of going beyond the surface when seeking meaning in the data, insofar it searches for, and questions tacit meanings about beliefs, values and ideologies. It is considered by many (i.e. Mills et al, 2006; Johnson, 2014; Kenny & Fourie, 2015; Nagel et al, 2015) to be more intuitive and impressionistic compared to similar coding strategies within the interpretive paradigm as it is flexible and fluid, as well as allowing the researcher to utilise a variety of sources to identify key themes, topics and categories (i.e. field notes and memos).

Choosing the correct method of coding is critical when determining the 'richness' of analysis (Silverman, 2006; Saunders et al, 2009; Bryman, 2013). The constructivist approach is used as it "resists a concrete, rule bound, prescriptive approach to coding as this stifles and supresses the researcher's creativity" (Charmaz, 2014:111). Instead, Charmaz fashioned highly adaptable coding guidelines which endorsed an

imaginative engagement with data, stressing the principle of coding flexibility (Charmaz, 2008). Thus, the coding approach undertaken in this research was: (i) initial coding and (ii) focused coding, both of which are reinforced by the constant writing of memos, steering the researcher along the most important paths**.** Figure 9 (page 148) provides an illustrative view of the coding process adopted in this research.

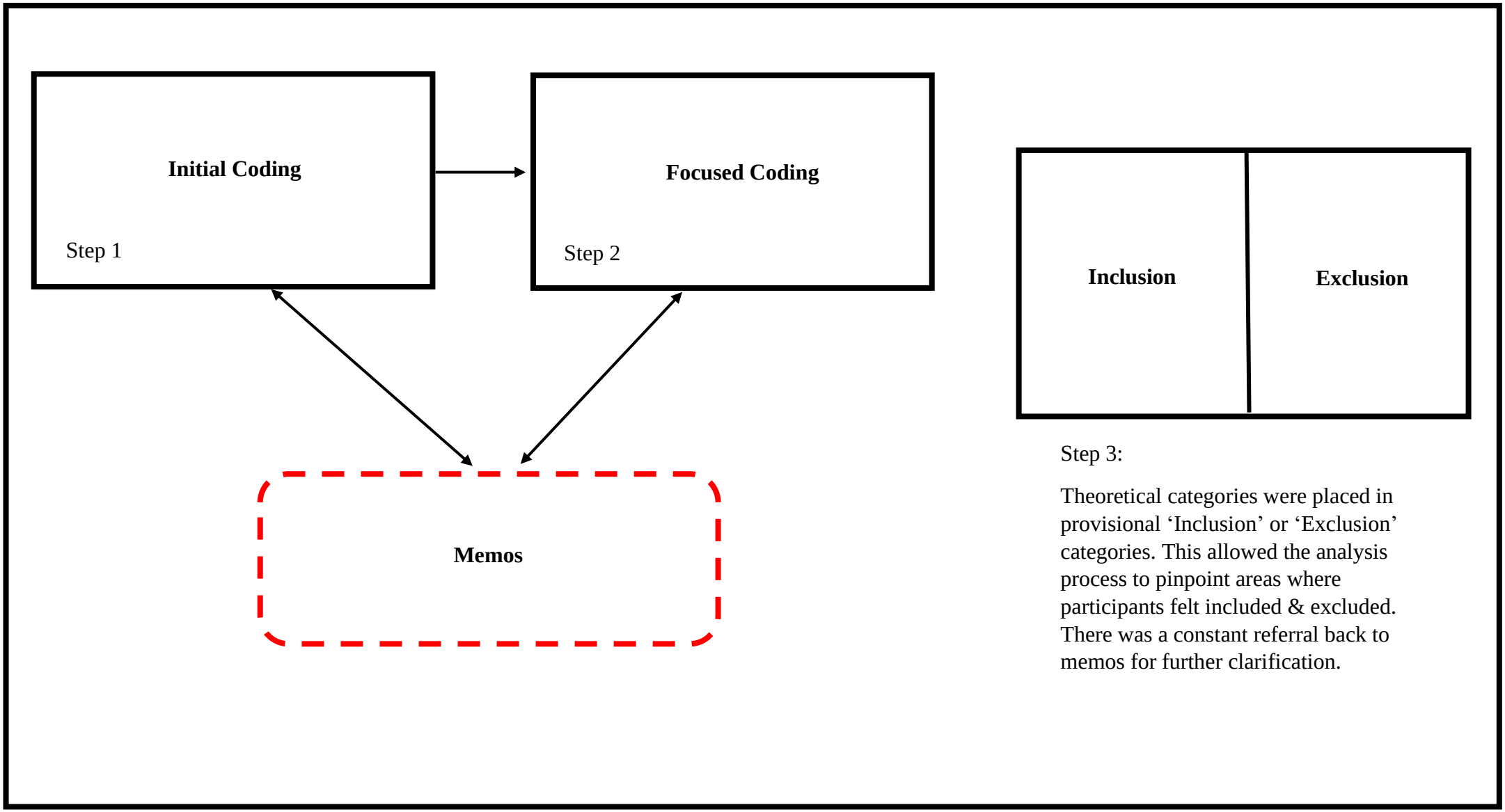


Figure 9: Coding strategy used to analyse data

3.10.1: Initial coding

The first analytic stage in this research journey begins with initial coding. Initial coding allows the researcher to stop and ask analytic questions of the data that has been gathered (Charmaz, 2014). This early call of action involved 'line-by-line' coding where the researcher continually examined each line of his transcriptions. Because of its focus on in-depth analysis, line-by-line coding works "particularly well with detailed data about fundamental empirical problems or processes" (Charmaz, 2014:125). Adopting this form of coding prompts a close relationship between researcher and data with initial conceptualisations of ideas beginning to emerge. Figure 10 is an example of how the initial, line-by-line coding strategy was undertaken using NVivo.

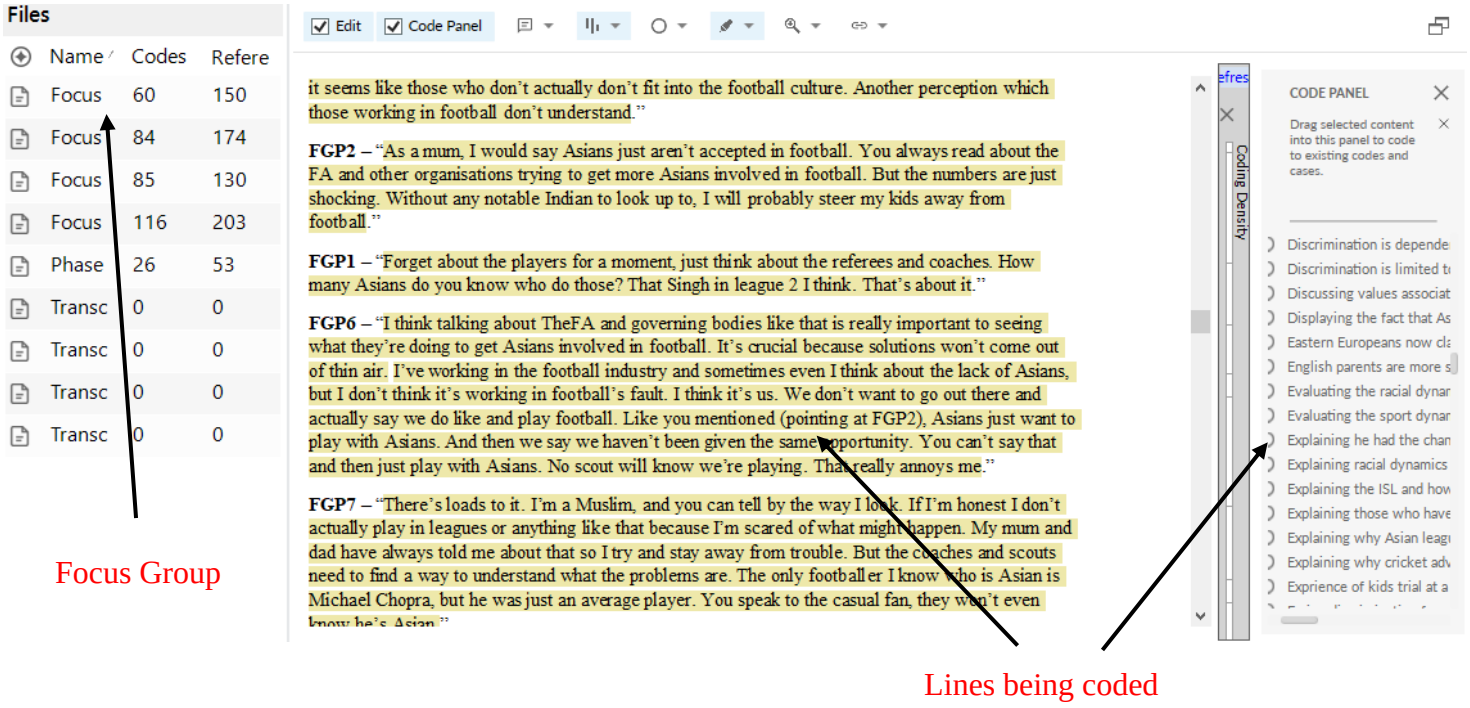


Figure 10: Initial coding of FGP1 – *completed via NVivo*

Line-by-line coding reassures the openness of data and whether relationships and parallels can be identified. Moreover, engaging in such coding strategy allows the researcher to refocus or adapt future focus groups or interviews to extract as much rich data as possible (Charmaz, 2014). This was particularly important for Phase III, as themes which emerged from the first two interviews was transferred to the latter interviews. For example, IP4 suggested he was racially abused during a football tournament in Scotland. Having heard this, the researcher then adopted the stance of wanting to establish if future interviewees had experienced similar behaviours.

The initial coding process analysed data from the ground up, with developments of categories primarily based on participant statements (Mills, 2006). Not only was this an iterative and comparative process, it was also regarded as an 'interactive method'. By entering this 'interactive space' it "pulls you deeper into the data and keeps you involved with them far more than a casual reading fosters" (Charmaz, 2014:115). Given the reliance on 'in-vivo coding' (coding in participant own words) and 'gerunds' (pronouncing initial codes to illustrate emotion and sensitivity which reflects process rather than topic) to convey action and image, the creation of meaning is therefore developed. By utilising both 'in-vivo' codes and 'gerunds', the meanings ascribed help to preserve content fluidity, providing a platform to evaluate participant perspectives from their own positions.

Glossing over meanings and actions reflects that of an outsider's view (Ford, 2013). There is also the risk of failing to appreciate "an alien professional language to describe the phenomenon" (Charmaz, 2006:49), specifically one that is consistently ignored and victimised as the South-Asian voice tends to be in current climates (Jaspal, 2011). Generally speaking, each code is a direct identification of what the data shows, as the goal is to correlate as much as possible the participant's voice. Indeed, the use of in-vivo codes from within the data provided symbolic markers of participants own language and meanings.

An example of both 'in-vivo' and a 'gerund' within the initial coding process is provided below from Phase I. When asked what they thought of the Nike advertisement, one participant claimed, *'it was well built, but didn't represent a multicultural place'*. Thus, '*failing to represent a multicultural society'* was an initial in-vivo code which was used to indicate their disappointment, even though they admit

it was well executed. This code was also expressed as a gerund. '*Being called a terrorist'* was another in-vivo code also expressed as a gerund. It describes how a participant with noticeable religious attire was subjected to racial abuse at a supermarket. '*Feeling passionate*' was another code developed, preserving the emotion attached to football. Having just 'passionate' risked reducing the implied emotional attachment, and "therefore losing the sense of action and process inherent within it" (Charmaz, 2006:49).

3.10.2: Focused coding

Engaging in focused coding was the second major step in the coding process. It expedited the analytic work by being more direct, selective and conceptual than the initial coding process (Charmaz, 2006), or in other words it involved coding and categorising the initial codes. Focused coding is used to "synthesis and sharpen what you have already done because it highlights what you find to be important in your emerging analysis" (Charmaz, 2014:138), what Kenny & Fourie (2015:1279) call 'analytic momentum'.

When moving across to focused coding, each phase was coded separately as the researcher did not want to force interpretations of attitudes, experiences and perceptions together, rather allowing them to naturally coerce if applicable. So, in regards to the initial code '*being called a terrorist'*, the researcher analysed all Phase I focus groups to see if any other participant talked about such characteristic, or if correlations can be made and put under an umbrella concept. Hence, the researcher compared what was discussed about the experience, helping him to refine the code under the focused category '*racism, discrimination and prejudice'*. This particular focused code summarised: (i) the ways in which participants experienced negative behavioural incidents, (ii) their attitudes towards it, (iii) what they felt contributes to such negativity and (iv) what it means in society. Noticeably, not all statements produced a structured response, however the researcher probed further to gather further detail when required.

3.10.3: Constant comparative method

The constant comparative method was used to establish analytic distinctions and support for categories that were emerging within the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It requires researchers to frequently return to the words of the participants to influence future directions, collections and analysis. In line with the 'initial' and 'focused' coding strategy, constantly comparing transcripts is critical in "ensuring consistency and also to identify positive and negative cases" (Goulding, 2005:297). The possibility of comparing emerging concepts and categories is also important for the purpose of theoretical elaboration and saturation. The strategy operated alongside memo-writing – the researcher accounts of their interpretations, analysis and directional reasoning within the memos.

In Phase I for example, the analysis showed one participant discussed the need for ethnic inclusion in advertising to promote inclusivity. She said her parents were particularly influenced by what they see in the media:

> **FGP14**: "Mum always shouts me when she sees an Asian in the media. Eastenders, even the new Amazon ad with the Muslim and the Christian".

While such claims gained traction within Phase I, analysis and comparison of the data revealed a deeper evaluation. Those who were more observant tended to influence those around them (in particular parent-child dynamic) when it came to sport participation and engagement. From the offset of being able to constantly compare the data, it made the researcher think about it in different ways and formalities. Granted, the researcher's own biases and hidden assumptions can impede data sufficiency, yet, he was made to look at the data in new light. An example of this was when a participant claimed the media did not affect or impede his participation in any way, something which was contradictory to the consensus. Admittedly, the researcher was expecting to hear something quite different, perhaps in line with other participant views. Without constantly comparing the data, this would have been illustrated as an isolated portrayal, rather than a sufficient theme.

3.10.4: Memo-writing

The benefits of writing memos are beginning to be valued in research. Charmaz (2014:162) states how "memo-writing is a pivotal step between data collected and writing drafts of papers". Through memo-writing thoughts about what the researcher 'saw' in the data, whether it be similarities to the literature, new distinctions or differences are readily captured and explored, if necessary. It allowed the researcher to clarify established categories, with the codes they subsume inherent on participant voices. The sorting of memos for each phase helped develop the interpretive outlay and conceptual direction. Mainly, it assisted in: (i) comparing connections within the data, (ii) what popular topics and experiences were discussed, and (iii) how/if they relate to one another. Analysing in this 'interactive space' meant the researcher was allowed to converse ideas and insights informally and as Ford (2013:131) claims "memo-writing should force the researcher to stop and engage with different categories". Subsequently, the memos used throughout this research were the foundation for constant re-interaction around ideas the researcher had about what he saw, heard, sensed and coded.

In addition to memos, diagrams were used in the early stages of coding. Dey (1993:192) mentions that diagramming can help disentangle complex and voluminous data. This process of 'think displaying' (Saldana, 2015:202) can assist in coding and categorising key information. Figure 11 (page 154) provides an early diagram of some emerging factors which facilitated the progression of BSAs in English football.

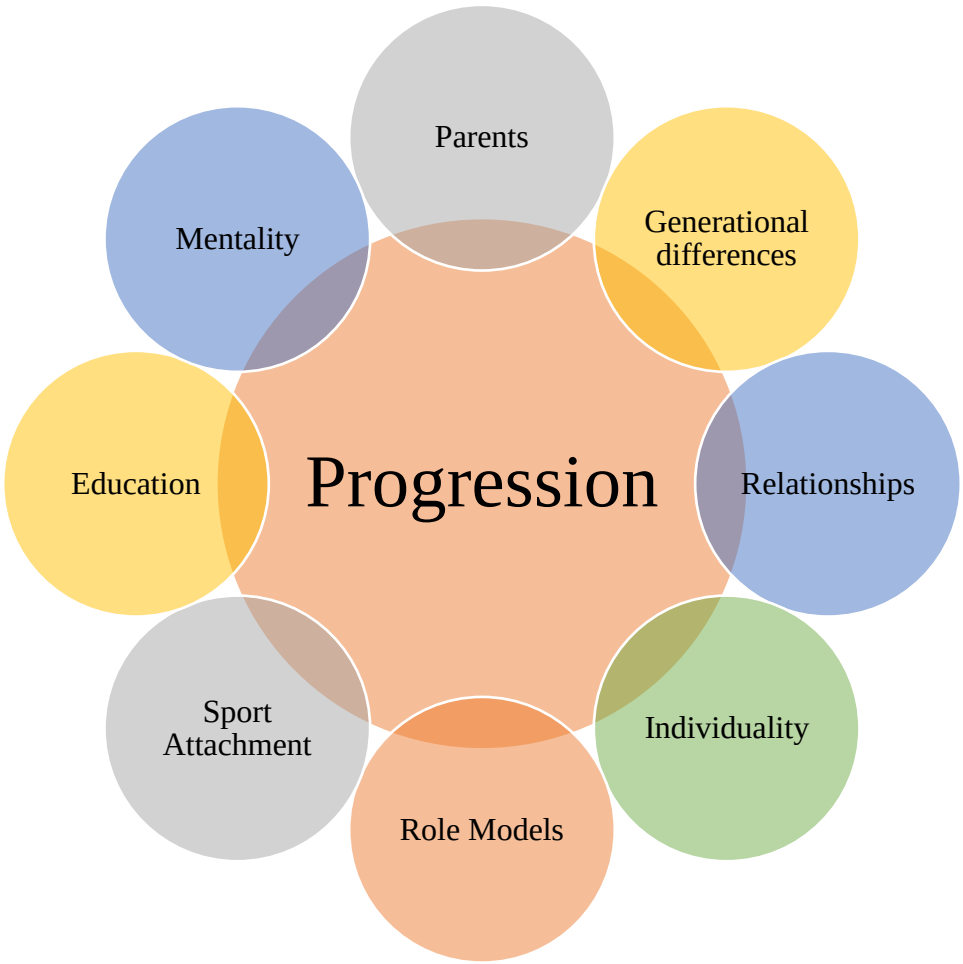


Figure 11: Early diagram of factors which aid football progression (Source: Author, 2020)

3.10.5: Achieving Saturation

Saturation occurs when the data collected is sufficient enough for one to stop, or what Morse (1995:147) claims as 'data adequacy' – when no new information is gathered. Others suggest in the majority of cases saturation occurs when one engages in a "repetitive process of data gathering rather than an iterative process of data-gathering followed by conceptualisation, and then increasingly more focused data-gathering and analysis" (Charmaz, 2014:213). In accordance with Charmaz's assertion, interpretivists need to be representative, whereby researchers are advised against collecting large swathes of data as sections tend to go unanalysed. To combat such feature, analysing data orientated on the premise of four key questions:

- What are the key categories and themes?
- What comparisons can be made between data within and between categories?
- Where do they lead me?
- What conceptual relationships can I see, if any?

This meant the researcher continued collecting data until no new information was forthcoming. By asking these questions, the researcher was able to distinguish when saturation occurred within each phase. This was mainly achieved by evaluating the notes which were jotted down during each focus group and interview. Such evidence-based mapping gave the researcher a birds-eye view of what themes came out, even though initial coding had not taken place. Nevertheless, this does not mean researcher perceptions are entirely valid, thus analysis was as intensive as Charmaz (2008) suggests.

3.10.6: Identification of key themes

A gateway to building an understanding of a social issue such as the inclusion/exclusion dynamics of BSAs in English football begins with building a comprehensive insight into the voices of key stakeholders. Therefore, once informational saturation was achieved, the focus went towards correlating key themes (after focused coding and with the help of memo-writing) into provisional inclusion/exclusion categorisations (step 3 in the coding strategy outlined in Figure 9, page 148). In doing so, the researcher was able to build a comprehensive insight into current state of affairs. Table 17 (pages 156-165) represents the identification of key themes into provisional inclusion and exclusion categorisations.

The concept of inclusion is based on the suggestion that equal opportunity was present, whereas the concept of exclusion rests on the impression of leaving an individual, group or community out if an activity. When it came to analysing interpretations of advertisements, it was far complex than simply categorising themes into inclusion and exclusion, rather they were dependent on several individualistic features.

Inclusion Themes (*Memos*)	**Exclusion Themes (*Memos*)**
Initial concept: **Community norms & traditions** There were discussions across Phase I & III of the notion that cultural norms and traditions are being challenged within the in-group. The reasons why are multi-layered and complex. Date: 22/3/2017 First is the idea that many BSAs across Phase I & III acknowledge their integration in Britain is founded upon in-group proactiveness. FGP2 talks about having the opportunity to go out and mingle with friends on a night-out, something the participant admits would not be possible pre-2000s. FGP18, FGP11, FGP24, FGP29 all talk about being classed as British – Britishness seems to be a more inclusive term which has the ability to bring two cultures together The idea of BSAs being a homogenous group who stick to themselves has been challenged across Phase I & III. When it comes to marriage (1 form of integration), FGP27 discusses marrying a White, English women with the fact that the family, routed in religious practices, accepted and advertised the marriage within the community. This is where the differences in ideological thought across the 3 generations play out. Whereas, most 2nd and 3rd generation of participants acknowledge a more integrated stance, FGP25 talks about their experiences in England when they first arrived, and that has hampered their thoughts – acceptance/rejection seen through the lens of those who experienced difficulties during initial migration.	Initial concept: **Racism in football** This theme is complex. Seems to be different positions in terms of little racisms experienced in mainstream society, whereas in football, many participants have experienced some sort of racism. The extent of each experience varies. Remember – football is a by-product of society, so how does this fit in? There is also a difference in how participants reacted to racism – links in with the ideological shift theme which was explored 10/4/2017 Date: 17/4/2017 There were 3 main discoveries: 1 – Knowledge that football is run by White individuals, thus BSAs will never get a fair opportunity whereby oppression and disadvantage has been a constant feature – FGP10, FGP18, FGP22 2 – Those who have little associations with football refer to it being an exclusionary domain – FGP16 3 – To succeed in football, IP5 & IP6 talk about being hard-headed and persevering saying opportunities are available, but you have to be willing to take the racism which comes in football Date: 21/6/2017

Date: 24/3/2017

It has been discovered that football is popular amongst BSAs. Arguments have been put forward from participants that football is the number one sport and stereotypical associations to sports such as cricket are now severed. FGP13 presents the idea that football was played amongst all of the BSA community in the area before, during and after school – demonstrating its popularity. Even with the challenges presented, BSAs still had aspirations to become footballers.

FGP7 talks about one of their family members experiencing racism when playing a grassroots football match, and as a result, the parents did not want them playing football again. This happened amongst many participants. IP3 talks about when playing for a school team, they were the victimised for being the only ethnic minority in the team. When they approached the coach, the coach laughed off the situation – inaction reinforcing racism.

School dynamics were placed across racial divides – IP1, IP5, FGP10, FGP2, FGP3, FGP23, FGP24 all talk about when playing recreational football in school it would be all the White players versus all the ethnic minority players. In normalising this, it made its way into Sunday & Saturday league football matches.

IP4 talks about having a trial at Everton & Fulham. Being the only Brown person and Muslim, the participant felt there was definitely an uneasiness amongst other players. The participant talks about being treated differently by coaches, even though he had better statistics than other players. As a result of being a small centre-back, the participant was pushed to play right-back – not his position, whereas everybody else got to play in their preferred positions – stereotyping that he was not strong.

Date: 26/6/2017

FGP29 talks about when an opposition player did call him a ‘Paki’, his teammates all stuck up for him. Admitting to it being a good thing, it still didn’t take away the fact that they were subjected to racism at a 5-a-side tournament in Birmingham.

Stereotypes experienced

IP5 talks about signing his semi-professional contract and not being invited to the pub to celebrate with his teammates as they all thought wouldn't drink because of his religion. Although not drinking alcohol, the participant was still willing to go out and celebrate with teammates – feeling amongst outsiders that BSAs do not associate with alcohol at all. Participant admits it did not affect the football relationship with teammates.

Date: 1/7/2017

FGP14, FGP16, FGP17 all talk about experiencing overt Islamophobia at football matches – being called a 'Paki' and 'Raghead'.

FGP7, FGP8, FGP12 refer to the fact that they have season tickets at CCFC and have only experienced racism in their early days, admitting that football has changed, with fans now actively calling out racists.

Mo Salah Song – FGP23, FGP29, FGP30 identify the Mohammed Salah song as being a show of Muslim-acceptance in football and when going to matches at Liverpool, they were applauded by fellow fans for attending.

Date: 2/7/2017

IP3 talks about when coaching in Newcastle (full of White, skin-heads), they were accepting of a Muslim coach who wears a hijab. The participant talks about some kids walking passed the session and yelling racist language, however, those who the participant was coaching stood up to them.

Initial concept: **Ideological shift in thought & (in)action**

There seems to be an ideological and real change in the mindsets of BSAs. Whereas inferiority was deemed the norm decades ago, there seems to be a proactive push for superiority and progression.

Date: 9/4/2017

IP5 talk about having a strong mental strength, acknowledging that BSAs have always had to work harder in the sporting environment because the stereotype is that BSAs cannot play football. The experiences of this participant demonstrates that, knowing disadvantages exist, opportunities will be made available. The participant also highlights that there is little accountability within the in-group in that blame is always put on out-group members when it comes to not making it in football. This notion is also highlighted in focus groups 1, 2 & 4 in Phase I.

Date: 10/4/2017

The fact that there are now BSA people in visible positions in football, BSAs are now beginning to acknowledge the idea that BSAs are accepted and included. These positions tend to be around presenting and broadcasting. FGP26 talks about football not being racist if there are BSAs in those positions. IP1 discusses their experiences in football, from gaining a medical degree and then going onto work in football. What was significant was the fact that family did not want the participant working in football initially, however a shift in empowerment meant the participant was able to push for a position in football.
FGP9 brings forward the idea of BSAs in football as 'role models'. The participant acknowledges that they have 2 responsibilities: (i) parents able to see BSAs in

Initial concept: **Media reinforcing exclusions**

Across all 3 phases, there is the acknowledgment that the media plays a critical role in excluding minority groups. Participants express the idea that the narrative in Britain is that minority groups are not represented fairly.

Date: 5/7/2017

FGP12 talks about how post-9/11 & 7/7, people of Muslim, Sikh & Hindu backgrounds were victimised. Those with religious identity markers (turban & beards) were targeted the most. FGP34 remembers the time when they saw an attack on a Muslim friend at school because of their surname.

IP5 explains how media categorise all 'Others' as bad people. With representations and media reports led by religion rather than individual actions, society will naturally label all of those religion (or perceived to be of that religion) as bad people.

these roles suggests inclusion, and (ii) they should be active in the push for BSA players. Here, we can see football is divided into 2 separate entities – playing and administrative roles.	
Initial concept: **Advantages of BSAs in advertisements** There seems to be a consensus amongst the participants that there would be financial benefits of having BSAs in football-related adverts. Date: 1/5/2017 FGP14, IP4 & IP3 talks about the commercial benefits of having names like Kaur, Singh or Ali on the back of t-shirts. It would not only break down barriers in football, but also the barriers in mainstream society where popular BSA names will be linked to known British identity markers – football. This is also linked to the sales if there was a player playing at the professional level. The participant talks about BSAs following members of their own community. IP1, FGP1, FGP7, FGP9, FGP21 all talk about football then being able to infiltrate South-Asian countries like Pakistan and India. Although football is popular in those countries, the participant argues that it would be even more popular with a BSA playing, and thus in advertisements with popular brands. Clearly then, there is this perception that clubs would benefit from having BSAs representatives.	Initial concept: **(non-)representations and the self** A multifaceted and complex dynamic is put forward when it comes to the relationship of advertising representations and the self. They are linked to three important factors. 1. Lack of BSAs in football is replicated in advertising, thus a cycle is present. 2. Representations reinforce stereotypes. 3. Representations influence football gatekeepers. Date: 10/7/2017 FGP2 talks about with there being no BSA playing at the professional level, representations will inevitably exclude the BSA community. This phenomenon is new, and is yet to be explored. The acknowledgement that those making the decisions are influenced by the field of play needs to be addressed. The participant comes to the conclusion that without representations on the field, there will be very little representation in adverts as there is a 'see it to believe it' phenomenon. Date: 17/7/2017 Another factor came up – who are those who make the decisions? Is there diversity in the agencies? FGP6 identifies that this is crucial to an understanding of which identities are included and excluded in adverts. Date: 18/7/2017

	The reinforcing of cultural stereotypes. The stereotypes that people of South-Asian heritage prefer stick sports over contact sports like football is perpetuated in adverts. FGP22 demonstrates this in their reference to advertisements. However, FGP25 talks about being happy for representations to associate with sports like cricket as this is their homeland sports. This participant was a 1st generation BSA. The cultural stereotypes also link in with football gatekeepers, and the fact that adverts will act as reference points for their prejudices – IP1, IP5 &, FGP30. This is something which needs to be explored – i.e. understanding what key visual markers influence gatekeeper perceptions of BSAs.

Inclusion/exclusion in regards to interpretations of advertising representations (*Memos*)
Concept: **Experiences and consumption** The level of Britishness experienced and displayed played a role in how adverts were interpreted. Date: 19/9/2017 FGP27 talks about their positive experiences of being British Asian – going out with friends of multiple races and identities and not experiencing any discrimination or judgement because of their race and identity. Their interpretations were influenced by the fact that they have not experienced first-hand discrimination. It's not a problem that there are not any BSAs in the adverts. FGP5 talks about it from a similar stance, but brings in the parents idea of

teaching English as the first language rather than Bengali. The family accepted that their children would have the be able to read and write in English when they came to Britain. The participant talks about their willingness to integrate meant they were able to look past exclusions in particular industries knowing that these were not a true reflection of what happens in reality. Similar occurrences happened for FGP8 and FGP13 – grandparents were originally from Kenya & India.

Date: 22/9/2017

Those who have experienced some sort of discrimination were not happy with the exclusions of BSAs in the adverts. FGP12 talks about being harassed by the police when they were younger. They recall that all the police officers were White and questioned his religious attire. This experience resonates with their interpretations of the adverts – especially when there were no BSAs – comparing the lack of BSAs in the adverts to the lack of BSAs in the police, thus not knowing about their religion and identity. FGP13 held a similar account when shopping and being called a 'Paki' by a drunk guy. Although she admits this was an isolated incident, it still clouds her memory and when anything to do with British Asians come up, she instantly refers back to the situation.

Date: 27/9/2017

Hearing of experiences of racism and discrimination by family members. FGP16 talks about hearing about the experiences of her parents when they first came to Coventry. There were signs outside pubs which said no Blacks or Asians. Today, she likes to focus on feminism and activism. Media has come up as a discussion point for her previously – the lack ethnic diversity in their representations. Through her parent's lived experiences, she still feels segregated – being a female and a BSA.

Concept: **Ethnic Self-Awareness**

ESA was a concept which links into understanding of one's ethnic identity – acknowledging their level of self awareness in regards to their ethnic identity and how this effected their interpretations to adverts.

Date: 3/8/2017

FGP10 talks about his part-time work at the NHS – leading a diversity & inclusion programme at an NHS Trust. It has meant he is hyper-aware of his ethnic identity. The participant notes that because of this, he noticed instantly the lack of Asian faces in the advertisements. Similarly, FGP13 & FGP14 both talk about one of their family members being active in social justice programmes at work, thus they have been taught from a young age about their ethnicity and identity.

FGP18 refers to the education of third-generation BSAs through the likes of social media. Access to information through social media for example, has meant this participant is aware of his ethnic identity. The participant references how BSAs are following a number of different BSA celebrities/social influencers, many of which promote ethnic-related phenomena. This then influences how they see advertisements – FGP22 talks about living in the 21st century where equality should be the norm.

FGP25 & FGP28 admit their generational status puts them in a different category. Being bought up in India or in households where Hindi & Punjabi were the spoken languages, their ethnic self-awareness was always high. For them ethnicity is linked to what generation status one is. They refer to the Cricket advertising being the more favourable as they can associate to the sport, having played it from a young age.

FGP21 talks about not having many BSA friends or family new where he lived, meaning he grew up in a majority white neighbourhood and went to an all-boys school which was dominated by white faces. The participant admits that his interpretations of advertisements are thus influenced by his development.

There is a complex dynamic when it comes to ESA and advertising interpretations. Is seems as though those with low levels of ESA were influenced by what was being shown compared to those with high levels of ESA.

Concept: **Religion**

Date: 1/8/2017

Religion became a factor when it came to interpretations. We know that there are different religions within the BSA community. FGP3, FGP5 & FGP19 all talk about there being very little in the football-related advertisements to relate to as there are no fellow BSAs (excluded). Even more poignant is the fact that the participants did not relate to the cricket advert because it endorsed alcohol – against the religion to consume alcohol. A focal point here then is the fact that the participants did not feel included in all 3 adverts.

Date: 8/8/2017

FGP1, FGP2, FGP8, FGP27, FGP28 all talk about the Punjabi community being big alcohol drinkers, hence can resonate more with the cricket-related advert. For these participants, cricket is associated to a relaxing culture whereby fans congregate and enjoy a pint whenever they watch a cricket match – it becomes somewhat of a norm amongst the community. FGP23 talks about how the name which is said in the Strongbow advert is the same name as a family member. This created a familiar relationship with the participant.

Date: 9/8/2017

Like other memos, this is another demonstration that BSAs are not a homogenous community, insofar they have different interpretations to advertisements based on their religions and cultures.

Concept: **Contemporary parental dynamics**

History suggests that males in BSA communities are the figureheads. However, this is not the case amongst 2nd & 3rd generation participant voices where females (mums) are having more of a say when it comes to allowing children to play football.

Date: 27/8/2017

FGP26 talks about his wife being the one who wanted their daughter to play sport from a young age. With him working long hours, the mum was responsible for taking the daughter to her sporting sessions. The participant admits that his wife picks up on inclusion/exclusion factors referencing looking at the models who are represented in HnM adverts and Eastenders.

FGP6 talks about how being a mum is different now compared to generations ago. Females are empowered to have their own careers and their own say in family dynamics. The participant understands that there are other sports which their kids can participate and engage in. The participant references sports like boxing & MMA where it is more individual and talent-orientated, whereas football, you having to rely on a gatekeeper. The participant also discusses her child wanting to play cricket.

FGP24 discusses the male and female paradigm in BSA cultures – acknowledging the differences now. The participant talks about his brother and sister-in-law. They both pick up on inclusion/exclusion factors. The mums have much more power now when it comes to allowing children to do certain things. Adverts, in the participant's experience, would influence this decision.

Date: 28/8/2017

Clearly, there is a paradigm shift in football inclusion – this research has uncovered something new in regards to how advertisements are interpreted and the power shift in male and females.

Concept: **Understanding of football**

Variances in interpretations in regards to how well participants understood or accessed the football space.

Date: 17/8/2017

FGP9 refers to going to football matches whenever they have the chance and seeing some ethnic faces. The representations, therefore, for this participant was not a true reflection of reality. FGP8 talks about being a coach for a local football team and their team is made-up of diverse players. The participant talks directly about the Nike advertisement where BSAs are excluded in the park. The participant mentions that the clubs training takes place at a local leisure centre, identifying that the majority of players he sees on other courts are BSA so representations portrayed are not a true reality. However, FGP13 suggests this is about geography – heavy BSA communities will inevitably have more BSA players playing football.

Date: 21/8/2017

FGP6 talks about not being a football fan, watching football on TV or going to football matches. The participant understands how passionate Britons are about football and it being one of the popular past-times. The participants only reference of football comes through the media. The participant discusses how family members play recreational football but not at a professional level. However, the participant understands that there are exclusions of BSAs in football, referring to factors like advertising influencing this.

FGP10 discusses their preference for F1 but not football. Known F1's problems with diversity, the participant acknowledges that football has similar problems. But in general, sport across Britain has had problems with diversity. Clearly, this participant believes advertisements and other media platforms influence the perceptions of BSA football exclusions.

There is a clear phenomenon here in relations to those who actively participate in football activities over those who do not.

Table 17: Emerging themes through coding strategy (Source: Author, 2019)

Due to the depth of responses, the complexity with them and the fact that the researcher used both NVivo and manual coding processes, Figure 12 provides a snippet of the coding process in its entirety, thus illustrating how the themes explicated in the following two section manifested.

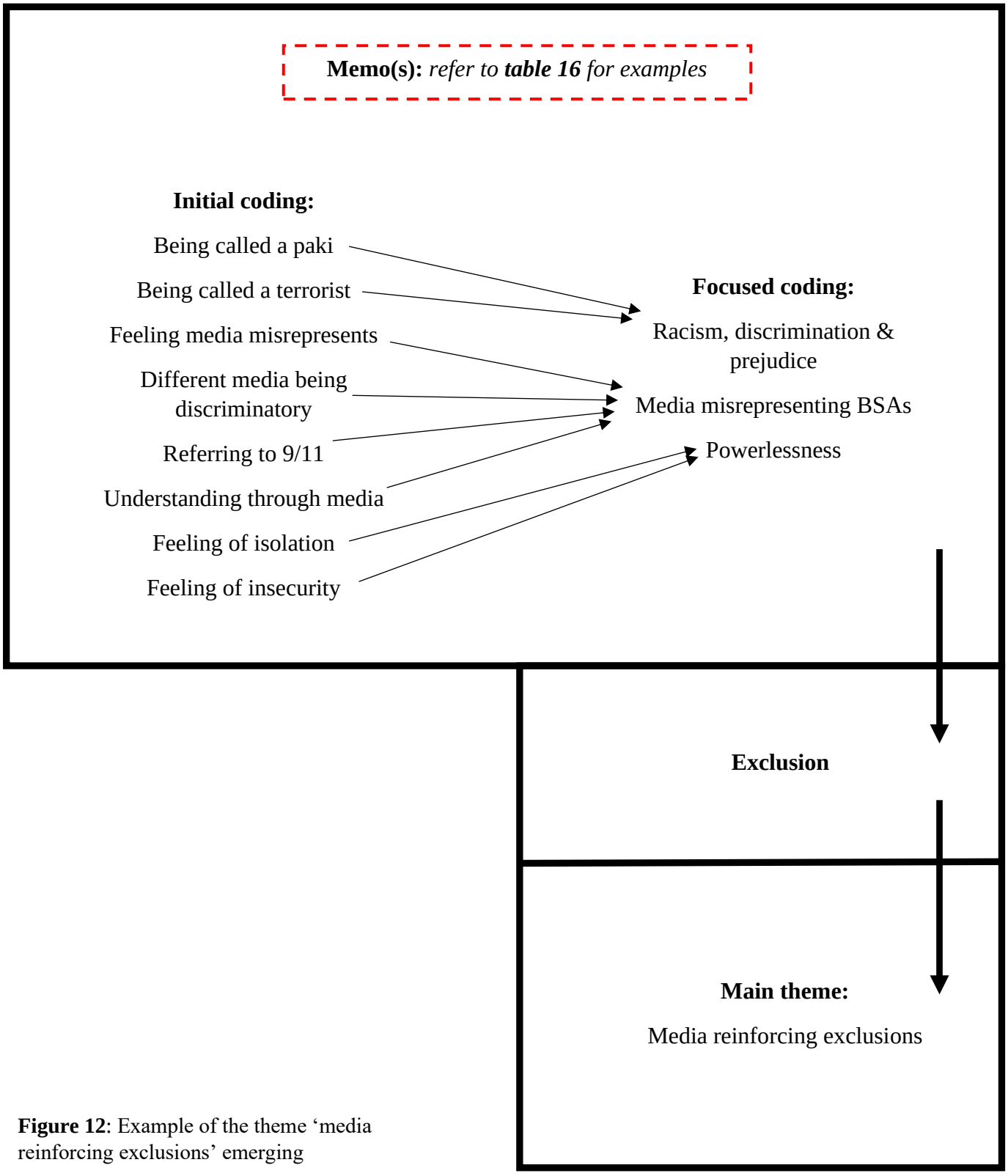


Figure 12: Example of the theme 'media reinforcing exclusions' emerging

This section highlights the reasons why the constructivist grounded theory data analysis coding approach was used and how it fits into the interpretivist stance. Fundamentally, adopting the approach enables research to move beyond simply highlighting singular themes and categories, rather making analytical sense of stories, statements and observations, or in the case of this study, perceptions, experiences, attitudes and opinions. Furthermore, it offers a chance to move beyond a structured "linear approach other qualitative forms of analysis suggest is appropriate in accordance with one justifying their actions" (Charmaz, 2014:109). The negative associated with such approach is that it elevates the researcher as 'co-creator' (Klenke, 2016:126), therefore their views are crucial to outcomes. Still, Bryman (2012) argues researchers should have a responsibility to impart a sense of ownership on their research product and acting as robots does more harm than good.

3.11: Conclusion

This chapter has provided a detailed account of the methodological approach used in this research study. It has simultaneously highlighted the philosophical insights to which the research design is underpinned by. Other key points (i.e. Reflexivity and Positionality of researcher and data analysis techniques) have also been addressed.

The research study is the first of its kind to incorporate and examine perceptions to advertising representations, by analysing the attitudes, experiences and opinions of three key stakeholders in relation to BSAs and football. Specifically, the methodology presented represents a three-phased approach in answering the research aim of situating the role of advertising representations to BSAs spatial experiences of inclusion/exclusion in the context of English football.

The subsequent two chapters (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5) therefore present an analysis of the findings obtained from the three phases, with Chapter 6 providing a discussion of key points of evaluation.

Chapter 4: The football space: *'what do we need to do to make it?'*

4.1: Introduction

This chapter presents the findings concerned with BSAs in regards to their experiences of English football. Specifically, it analyses and evaluates contemporary accounts of BSAs in relation to their inclusion/exclusion within English football. As illustrated in Figure 13 (page 169), Chapter 4 is presented in three separate sections. Section 1 presents findings which perpetuate integration and cultural hybridity. Section 2 presents findings which evaluates manifestations of Islamophobia. Section 3 draws attention to the ideological shift which is taking place in relation to football inclusion. Chapter 4 subsequently addresses Research Objective 3.

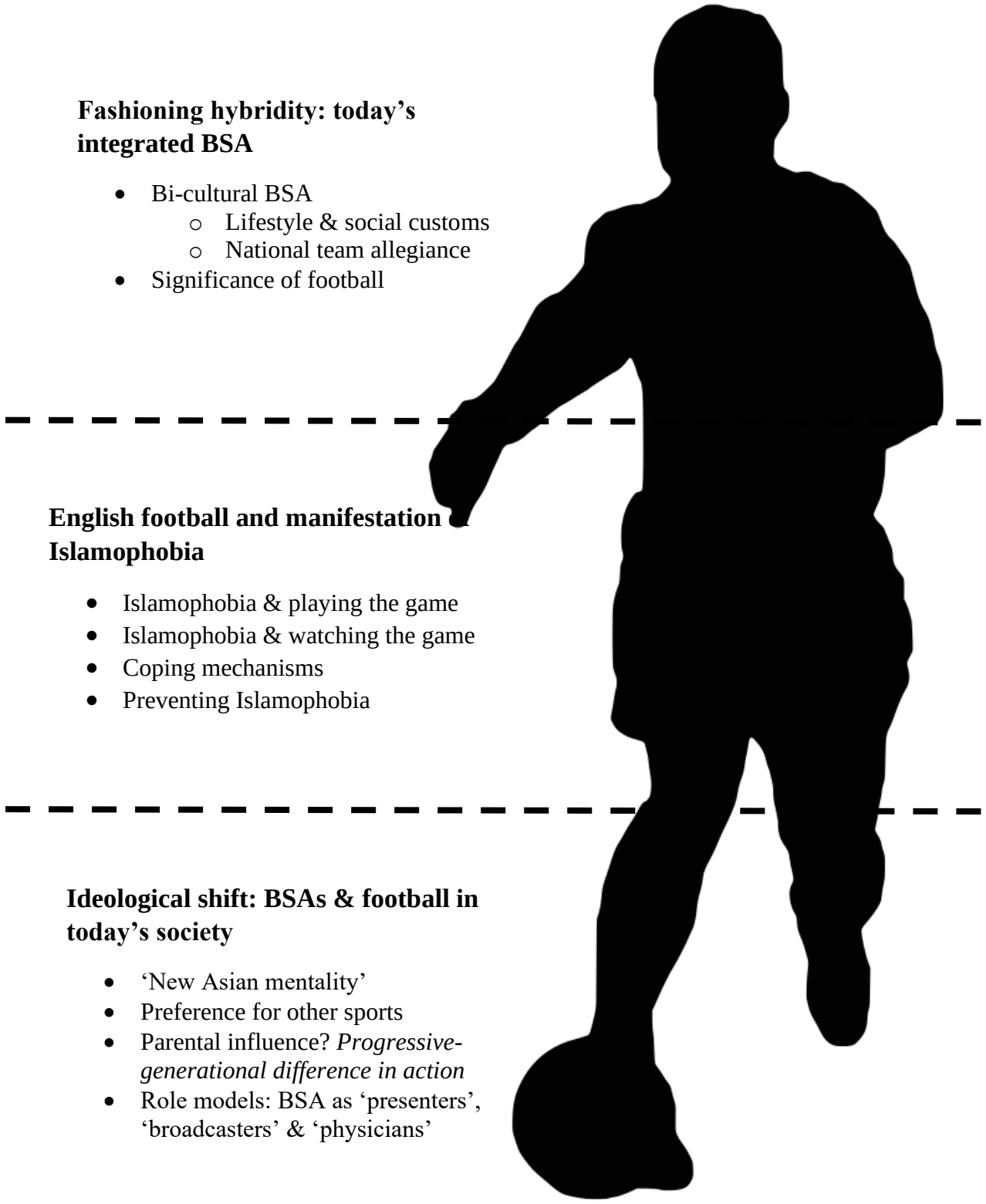


Figure 13: Diagram illustrating barriers-to-entry and facilitators

4.2: Fashioning Hybridity: today's integrated BSA

"Each of us seeks to know our personal identity and where and how we fit into the scheme of things so that we can make sense of our lives and plan for the future…" (Patel, 2000).

Thinking about our social genealogy allows us to discover, or at least acknowledge the complex network of social histories from which we came from, the dynamism in which we exist and the future development in which we strive for. Our complex lives of multiple interests and choices; ranging from friendships, amusements and occupations, to participation and engagement in nationalised treasured activities, builds bonds, helps discourage prejudices and showcases inclusion and adaption in overt and public demonstrations. By playing this role, "our lives brings us into union with others; we become a community" (Masolo, 2002:19).

This form of 'community' is demonstrated in the following participant discourses:

> "There's a lot more community spirit than there used to be… Now it's all about the actual community, where it's not only about staying with your own people. Where I live we celebrate all events together whether it's Christmas, New Years', Eid and Diwali… Families come together" (FGP16).

> "Back in the day it wasn't like it was now… We're living with different communities. Going to work with different people. It's changed massively since the times where my mum and dad would work at Jaguar [car manufacturer] where there would be a load of Indians working there so you just stick with them… But now, we have the best of both worlds" (FGP27).

What was clear from the participant examples was the fact that there was a change in attitudes and consumption patterns of religious and cultural traditions in Britain. This supports Hall's (2002) hypothesis in regards to there being an urgent need to celebrate cultural hybridity in Britain. From a mainstream perspective, it thus seems that the 'threat' associated to the dynamics and dynamisms of what 'home' should look like

has now been re-developed, re-appropriated and replaced to accommodate and accept different cultures.

When talking specifically about the BSA position in mainstream society, there was the acknowledgement amongst participants across Phase I and Phase III that the community is now integrated in society:

> "The fact that we have gone through what we've gone through previously has given us the opportunities now. Like how it was back when our grandparents came here. It was really tough for them… But now, it's like we've gone up the ladder in terms of our community significance" (FGP22).

> "All of my family are here. Me and my brother brought our mum and dad from Pakistan here. It's not safe there anymore… There's a reason why we did bring them here. It's because you hardly ever get any trouble. Now they're happy. My kids will be brought up here too… we have one of the best education systems and the NHS… We've built a foundation here now" (IP1).

Participant discourses demonstrate that their values and identifications have manifested into an integrated culture which suggests that participant's strive to construct self-narratives that implicitly and explicitly demonstrate inclusivity, often by synthesising multiple identities and the value they now hold in mainstream rhetoric (Del Ray et al, 2017). In this sense, systems of meaning and cultural representations are not hidden like they used to be (Hall, 2002), rather they are endorsed through the social interactions between different groups and communities, irrespective of dominance.

A mechanism which manifested integration amongst participants, was the fact that Britain is viewed as a multicultural society. In multicultural environments, ethnic, cultural and religious identities can be constructed and exhibited in different ways, many of which exist in socio-cultural and socio-political realms (Werbner, 2015). Consequently, the level of multiculturalism experienced by participants positively impacted the visibility of their hybrid cultures. The positives in living in a multicultural society is best illustrated in the following lived experience:

> "We can literally go anywhere in Britain and not really have to worry about our skin colour or anything like that. There's a lot of work opportunities now than there was before… You can go buy a house anywhere in Britain and there won't be any issues… People are just a lot friendlier now because we are living in a multicultural place compared to other countries… One thing's for sure… I'm not afraid of speaking Punjabi in public" (FGP17).

FGP17 not only testify to the existence of 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise & Velayutham, 2009), but also the acceptance of BSA people by dominant communities. Cultural characteristics such as being fluent in both English and Punjabi showcases both individualistic and collectivist values (Del Ray et al, 2017). Thus, when a country celebrates multiculturalism, it embeds an inclusionary status amongst its population whereby cultural differences are not challenged, but endorsed (Kymlicka, 2010).

Another mechanism of acculturation exists in the similarities between South-Asian and British cultures. This is discussed in the following participant testimony who is a first-generation BSA:

> "We came here solely because of work at the start. My cousin came here with his brother to work in the foundries in [19]62… To be honest there wasn't much difference between living back in our village in India and coming to Coventry in terms of work and social life… In India, when I was younger I would work on the farm harvesting crops, then I'd come home and my wife would cook and look after the kids… Take them to school, teach them to cook. We had 3 kids… I had 2 brothers and 1 sister. My wife had 1 sister so we didn't have a big family… So when I came to Coventry, I just worked 6 days-a-week and 12 or 14 hour shifts. We all did in the house… I can't say I had many issues when I first came here. I would work with guys who were English, guys who were from Kenya and guys who were from India and Pakistan… We would all get along together and at work when it was an occasion like Diwali, we would make samosas and bring them it for everybody else to share" (FGP25).

The participant reflects on the diasporic developments which manifested through the 'push-pull' processes during the 1960s where migrants came from the South-Asian

subcontinent to work in the labour market (Ratcliffe, 2004). Like many first-generation BSAs, the goal was the same in relation to leaving the subcontinent in search for financial security and social stability (Anwar, 1998). Nonetheless, the participant identifies how similarities experienced in regards to the everyday norms in both India and England helped him familiarise himself with the culture which England represented. This phenomenon supports the work conducted by Rudmin (2003) who suggests that acculturation is facilitated by the similarities between host and migrant cultures, insofar, the 'desi diaspora' (Kim, 2012:557) was integrated with other forms of ethnic diasporas as highlighted in the participants experiences of community congregation at work.

Clearly, there are mechanisms and lived experiences which highlight manifestations of cultural hybridity. Though, in the context of young BSAs, that position has now transformed into bi-culturalism.

4.2.1: The bi-cultural BSA

The notion of bi-culturalism conveys the idea that young BSAs are able to navigate through sensitivities of their 'home/heritage' culture, and that of British mainstream society. It became apparent in Phase I and Phase III that young BSAs face dual cultural identities and that their daily lives, consumption patterns and social interactions were influenced by dichotomies and the complexities emanating from their cultural orientations:

> "At home, it's different. My mum and dad watch their Indian programmes. I sometimes watch them myself with them… then when the football comes on we watch that… with the lads I don't tell them if I watch any Indian programmes… They'll just take the piss out of me… I'd prefer them just to come to my wedding, so they know what us Punjabis are really about" (FGP7).

> "I would say I am pretty religious and into Pakistani culture… Even when we went to watch Lisbon play in Portugal with a couple of the guys I used to go

> secondary school with… Back then I was clean shaven. But now I have a beard… In Muslim culture it's sort of a good thing… Most of them actually thought I was Christian at one point. But they sort of got to understand who we [Muslims] are. They were asking me questions which I was happy to answer" (FGP19).

Clearly, there was evidence BSAs are taking a bi-cultural stance when participants chose to make selective use of their religious and cultural practices. As suggested, they do not leave their faith or cultural convictions, but in order to keep up with the wider community and their social and occupational lives, in addition to maintaining wider consumer culture, participants were careful of the cultures they displayed. The motivation came from a strong desire to maintain both 'home' and 'host' cultures simultaneously (Bhabha, 2015). A paradox thus exists between more orthodox cultural experiences (i.e. watching Indian programmes with parents) and the liberal lifestyle Britain affords (i.e. a desire to fit in) which is thus reconciled through situation and context.

It was also discovered that bi-culturalism is not volitional, rather it can occur when people or communities are 'forced' to integrate. Like comparable Western societies which house different diasporic communities (i.e. Canada), there are areas in Britain that have a substantial BSA population which have resulted in first, and in some cases, second-generation BSAs failing to acculturate – i.e. Bradford, Birmingham and parts of London (Robinson, 2005). This was different for the third-generation participants in this study discussed how they had no option but to mingle and thus integrate with wider communities through school, social activities and sports clubs/teams:

> "In our school [football] team we were all made up of different religions and areas from Coventry. Some of the lads even tried to get into private school because their parents are pretty wealthy… we would all just chill out together. We didn't really see any difference to be honest. I wanted to be part of the school football team" (FGP29).
>
> "At my local gym where I used to box I would teach the other boxers some Punjabi swear words… It was pretty funny. Even though I was like one of two

> Indians at the whole gym I kind of liked it. They would come to me and ask me about foods and stuff… When I was younger and my mum made some parathas, I would bring them with me after boxing. I'd give a little piece out to the other lads. They'd ask to bring more because they didn't have it before" (FGP10).

In this sense, the desire to be bi-cultural allowed the participants to participate and engage in communal activities. They each told stories of how they had a strong desire to be part of a wider group/club, but still maintained their cultural identity. For instance, the latter participant talks about teaching Punjabi and handing out parathas (type of flatbread native to South-Asia) at his local boxing club. This heightened his acceptance amongst the wider group as he was seen to bring something 'new' and 'different' to those who had little exposure to South-Asian language and food.

Evidence also suggests that third-generation BSAs exhibit different cultural practices and dispositions compared to first and second-generation BSAs. Part of this rests on a number of key cultural characteristics and traditions which change and adapt in a bid match customs of host cultures (Bhabha, 2015). Throughout Phase I and Phase III, participants discussed their feelings towards these cultural characteristics and traditions which do not match those British ideals:

> "To be honest I don't like the fact that both the Pakistani and Indian cultures have this thing against females having to stick to traditions. I wear a hijab and coach football. The amount of looks I get when I'm coaching from Pakistanis especially is unreal… Even my parents get the questions from those within the community. I've had old aunties ask me about getting married or whatever. I've said no… See stuff like that I don't like. I stay away from people who try to push those things onto me" (IP3).

These views were not available to previous generations as explicated by FGP2:

> "We didn't have the opportunities these younger generations have now… we were told who we were going to marry, where we would be moving to and what job we would have… I wanted to go to study graphics at a University in

> London or join the army, but my mum was having none of it… It's just not what was happening back then… they weren't modern like we are now" (FGP2).

Evidently, participants acknowledged the existence of traditional norms and values, but disregarded their influence in contemporary British society. Whereas many first and second-generations still adhere to these cultural characteristics (Robinson, 2020), there is a proactive approach by third-generations to replace these with modern and liberal ideals (Ratna, 2011). Manifestations such as submitting to an 'arranged' marriage has been replaced with an empowered-self which gave IP3 the power to reject marriage appraisals. This is a clear example of how the British dominant culture has impacted the culture of BSAs (Bhabha, 1994; 2015), inasmuch FGP2 talks about how her parents were not 'modern'. The perceived value in having 'modern' parents is that they will be open to reinventing traditional culture through manifestations of hybridity.

Bi-culturalism also extends to participants being empowered to choose what parts of traditional culture they choose to align to. For example, the participant discourse below talks about language:

> "One thing I'm not afraid of doing is speaking Urdu at football. I take my nephew who's 6 to matches sometimes. I'm trying to get him to speak Urdu at home… His grandad is happy… He's told me to try to get him to speak it… It's sort of a blackmail. Take him to the football but he has to try and speak Urdu with me" (FGP3).

Another participant talks about clothing and fashion:

> "I do like wearing the saris and suits to big events… This Christmas we're doing a Christmas party with work. I always wear my Indian suits there… Sometimes I mix it up with more western styles" (FGP14).

The above examples support Werbner's (2015) claim that cultural hybridity and the subsequent bi-culturalism experienced can manifest in a number of different forms. FGP3 identifies how he uses football as a mechanism to promote the use of Urdu for his nephew. Not only does this form of hybridity link into football (mainstream) and language (home), it also includes family dynamics. This nexus is endorsed by the grandfather who resonates with the use of one culture to improve the experience of another culture. There were also preferences for contextually relevant clothing and fashion items. As suggested by FGP14, she was open to adopt western style and fashion, as well as retaining sub-continental traditions at community/cultural events. This reinforces the work of Bose & Jalal (2017) who identity that South-Asian diasporic communities are partaking in 'cultural mixing' through dress. This indicates that by being active agents in a multicultural Britain, there are opportunities where one can display symbolic markers of traditional culture, whilst simultaneously still holding strong allegiance to what Britishness represents.

Significantly, the lives of young, diasporic BSAs are grounded not only in the cultures and traditions of their parents, their grandparents and the Indian subcontinent, but also in the social practices of Britain and beyond, with increasing reference to spheres such as lifestyle, social customs and national sport allegiance.

4.2.1.1: Lifestyle and social customs

Cultural pressures and perceived parental restrictions, along with the influence of maintaining a bi-cultural status makes participating and engaging in British lifestyle and social customs a complex segment to analyse and understand. A feature which was poignant amongst participant discourses was the commitment to engaging in mainstream social customs:

> "You would look at me and think 'oh, typical Indian girl', but I do enjoy going out with a few friends here and there. You don't have to just stay home anymore. Especially now… It's accepted here that you can go out with a bunch of girl mates and just enjoy yourself. You can say it's like fitting in now. Even with work you're expected to go out for drinks on a Friday with everyone… I'm doing no harm" (FGP2).

FGP2 demonstrates a forging of a new social presence amongst young BSA communities which gives attention to contemporary gender dynamics (women and men) and the lived realities which now encompass them. Being a 'typical Indian girl' refers to the expectation amongst BSA communities to appear modestly and not to 'humiliate' oneself which would dishonour and disgrace the family name, thus lowering the family status in local communities (Ratna, 2011). It also acknowledges that there was an expectation to live to up gendered roles and practices which include staying home, looking after the children, cooking and cleaning (Dwyer, 2000). This meant leisure choices of BSA women were often limited (Ratna, 2010).

Such modern sensitivities have now been replaced to accommodate wider social customs. It is now perceived to be 'accepted' for BSAs (women and men) to participate in a variety of leisure activities. FGP2 identifies how experiences of going out and enjoying oneself is a requirement to 'fitting in' which supports Robinson's (2009:443) assertion that "self-evaluation of one's identity is most salient in the domains individuals consider to be most important". It also shows that young BSAs are careful to portray an image of themselves that does not disinherit their South-Asian roots (Ratna, 2011). Whilst speaking to the participant, FGP2 went onto discuss how BSA parents are becoming powerless which the researcher notes in a memo:

Memo 44: FGP2 talking about change in parent powers

She is talking about how young BSAs are now overpowering their parents when it comes to going out and making decisions for themselves. It seems as though there is a change in dynamic –it seems like now young BSAs are able to persuade their parents - education? Responsibility? Influenced by living in Britain? – Most likely

Figure 14: Memo describing change in parent powers

As the memo suggests, there was also the signal from FGP2 that parents now do not have power over their children and that, with age and increased interactions with wider communities, third-generation BSAs are able to use their powers of persuasion to influence their parents' opinions (Ratna, 2011:390).

The decisions to participate and engage in wider social customs manifested through a combination of factors including, parent's call for their children's individuality and independence. One participant talks about how his father decided to buy him and his brother a house in their teens:

> "My dad brought me and my brother a house when we were 18. We lived together but he wanted us to learn to be independent. We were both working at the time, so we were paying our own bills, food shopping, the works. He wanted us to experience the things he didn't. He trusted us really. We were really happy" (FGP27).

For young BSAs, cultural adaptations encompass characteristics of individuality and responsibility. With the increase in educational attainment, financial security and job prospects, there is an inevitability in young BSAs striving for independence. This has impacted the hyper-cultural sensitivities associated to BSA cultures. One of which is the rarity in which children, parents and grandparents now live together. Moreover, the participant explains that because his father did not have the opportunities and access to mainstream activities (i.e. living by yourself, travelling the world etc.) which he strived for, his father was giving his children the opportunity to do so. In this sense, it can be explained that the father developed new frames of 'parenting' which was built on trust and the confidence that his children, although young, had the spatial awareness to maintain healthy lifestyle.

Seeing a change in social consumption patterns further supports the notion that young BSAs are now residing as bi-culturals. One mechanism which supports this was participants' support for national teams.

4.2.1.2: National team allegiance: 'God save the queen'

National support or allegiance is a key signifier to appraisals of belonging (Burdsey, 2006). The different affiliations held by participants in Phase I in relation to the national teams they support highlights the dynamic nature of young BSAs living in Britain. It was discovered that some participants follow England in football and their individual ancestral teams (India, Pakistan or Bangladesh) in other sports. These support mechanisms were underpinned by a diverse range of individual, familial and social factors:

> "We're big England fans in the house when it comes to football. Every time they play we're always watching the games with our England tops on… But when it comes to hockey and cricket, we obviously support India because that's' where our family heritage is from" (FGP1).

> "You have to support your home country. My parents come from Bangladesh so I support then when they play in these big international cricket tournaments. Give them a bit of support when they're playing cricket" (FGP19).

Analysing national allegiances in the context of sport helps to facilitate a wider understanding of the nuances and complexities young BSAs have. Despite participant's diverse family histories and the migration experiences lived by their grandparents, the relationship between sport and national allegiance is of significant analytical value when it comes to examining the bi-cultural identity of young BSAs. As pointed out in the two above participant discourses, although supporting India and Bangladesh in cricket and hockey can invoke images of their ancestral homes and their perceived lives before migration to Britain, participants subsequently used mechanisms of support for homeland countries as a way to facilitating an 'imagined' connection, irrespective of whether or not they have physically visited their homeland(s) (Burdsey, 2006).

Young BSAs are intrinsically comprised of a panoply of different histories, genealogies and cultures (Millings, 2013) and are thus inherently connected. By being

bi-cultural in this sense, it gives young BSAs the opportunity to support and pledge allegiance to two different nations. This was the case in the following participant observation who explicates the notion that supporting one national team doesn't make you less of the other:

> "There's not really a big problem with supporting two different [national] teams… For us ethnic people, we've come from somewhere, so then I wouldn't say because you're now living in England you can't support India… I would say it's part of sport now" (FGP24).

In terms of national allegiance in sport, the participant refutes the claim that young BSAs can be 'caught between two cultures' (Anwar, 1998), suggesting that the perception that one of the cultures has to be diluted or rejected to make way for the other is, in fact, futile. The sense of place with the 'old' homeland(s) and the 'new' multicultural home allows young BSAs to entertain bi-cultural identities without arising fears of divided loyalties (Parekh, 2000).

When it comes to football, the sport is equated to third-generation BSAs very own residency, thus supporting England acts as an arena where the permanency of settlement and the associated values and benefits it brings with it can be emphasised. In other words, participant's voiced the opinion that their attachment to football may actually be conceived of as a situational strategy (Farrington et al, 2017), thus signifying their attachments to Britain as their home, rather than that of their ancestral homeland(s). This was the reason why the following participant highlights his allegiance to the England national football team:

> "I'm a massive fan of England. It's our home isn't it? We should all support England if we live here… I try to follow them whenever they play big international tournaments" (FGP30).

The participant suggests that with England being 'home', young BSAs should have allegiance to the England national football team. Such support mechanisms are underpinned by a plethora of factors which transcend ethnic, cultural, generational, religious, familial and national boundaries (Burdsey, 2006). These include: (i) the increasing cultural differences between Britain and their homeland(s), influence of bi-culturalism with a particular focus on new patterns of consumption and lifestyle choices (as identified in section 4.2.1.1), and a (iii) desire to maintain prosperity in a multicultural society which simultaneously emphasises 'Britishness' and support for different cultures (Uberoi & Modood, 2013).

4.2.2: Significance of football to BSAs

In some quarters of the western world, there is an assumption that BSAs are inexorably connected to their homeland(s) and that their cultural production harbours traditional rather than modern principles (McGuire et al, 2001). What is not recognised however, is that "British Asian cultures, ethnicities and identities change successively between generations" (Kilvington, 2016:19). This primitive network of change illustrates Ismail's (2015:15) point when understanding cultural hybridity in that "culture (what is 'really is') as a whole, 'way of life' which requires observation before evaluation, transformation. And yes, the phrase 'way of life' bears the damned elitist signature – a 'gotcha moment' to the close reader". One way to examine this form of hybridity is through sport (Hylton, 2009). In line with the findings explored in section 2.2.2, football has been, and is, a popular pastime and socially significant facet of the BSA identity as highlighted by the following two participants:

> "Asians have never had a problem with playing football or even going to matches. We love it… It's the people who think they own football who have the problem. To be honest I used to love it when we played football before and after school. It's literally like a drug for us when we were younger… Forget going out with girls and stuff, it was all about playing football when we were kids" (IP2).

> "My dad played football, I play football. The only thing for us is that sometimes we're not taken seriously enough. Then we just go onto different things I guess" (FGP27).

Here, the relationship between football and BSAs is intertwined in a web of historically-consistent participation and engagement. Where it falters however, is the existence of racialisations whereby BSAs seemingly are 'not taken seriously enough' by authoritarian and dominant figures who 'own' and 'regulate' football (King, 2012; Goldblatt, 2015; Bradbury, 2018).

One participant declared how playing the game was still the go-to pastime, even in times of wider social exclusion:

> "If you look back in the day. All the struggles we went through when we first came here. Even back then we were playing football in the parks. It was like at school we were getting taken the piss taken out of us for being basically brown, but then after school we would just be playing football like nothing happened. Literally every Asian around the area would come together and play football. It was just normal, a way of socialising I guess" (FGP12).

These three oral testimonies demonstrate the significance of football to BSAs. Such significance, or passion for the game can be contextualised across a historical-to-contemporary lineage as first suggested by Bandyopadhyay (2003). What these findings clarify is that BSAs have been proactive in their bid to promote football within their own neighbourhoods, communities and households. Yet, this wider engagement is not reflected in BSA success stories, nor does it constitute the reasons why they are still excluded from the professional game.

Participant discourses also highlight that BSAs are not banishing football from their communities, rather they are in a predicament whereby western imagination 'prefers' to recall traditionalist views of the static BSA identity and culture which is seen to distance itself from the social realms English football rests in, over contemporary actions which embed a sense of openness and integration. One participant noted:

> "I don't think they [non-BSAs] actually think about it really. They just want to keep bringing up the past that we're traditional and don't like football. But sport is in our genes… Forget about football for a minute. Look at kabaddi, cricket and even badminton. We've played them for years. Obviously those who came to this country originally probably still do prefer cricket, but you look at my kids now. For them it's everything other than cricket… I would say one of the issues is that people in this country [England] think we like cricket because our dads and grandads liked it from their time in India. I would say that's where that perception comes from" (IP2).

By being accustomed to the intricacies of sport, it gives in-group communities the opportunity to understand what it takes to compete in a competitive and masculine environment – two traits associated to success in football (Campbell, 2015).

Most problematically though, some literature suggests that the perception amongst White Britons' is that BSA elders (first, and in some cases, second-generation) are tied to sports that revitalise their culture – sports such as cricket and badminton, thus the perception is that "their children will be steered toward the 'old' (cricket) and away from the 'new' (football)" (Kilvington, 2016:20). As such, participant discourses demonstrate that BSA social interactions and relations are not dependent on traditional spatial co-presence (i.e. perception that sports such as cricket are indoctrinated at birth). Notably, football appears to have overtaken cricket as the fulcrum of the BSA 'sporting identity', as vividly expressed in these discourses:

> "The number one sport for us is football. Half of us haven't even played cricket before" (IP5).

> "Football is definitely my sport for choice. Like of cricket and badminton I watch here and there but it has always been football" (FGP2).

> "I've played a range of different sports, but football is the one where we played the most" (FGP8).

> "Football is the most played sport in Britain, so how can we not get involved it in?" (FGP18).

These expressions not only highlight that football is a central construct to BSA sport engagement, they inadvertently demonstrate detachment from sports the 'Asian culture' is meant to be accustomed to. This may be for two reasons as highlighted in the following memo:

Memo 39: Participants talk about football being part of their quality worlds

Participants who talk about preferring to play football were all third-generation, therefore the argument can be made that they have been acculturated from birth to engage in sports which they grow up in.

There is also the argument that they have the CHOICE to engage in different pastimes and social customs, unlike their grandparents, where such privilege was non-existent – social success meant having to stick together.

Figure 15: Memo describing football being important to participants

Football is evidently an extremely important social arena for young BSAs. They not only challenge essentialist interpretations of ethnic and national identity, but also recreational modes that purport them as being 'caught between two cultures' (Anwar, 1998). As part of the hybrid movement, they have created a specific ideological movement which now focuses on football over cricket and targeted inclusion over historical exclusion. Nonetheless, there are specific movements which exclude the community.

4.3: English football and manifestations of Islamophobia

The idea that English football and wider, mainstream society are interfixed in a show of collectivism and unity (Goldblatt, 2014) is important to highlight. The notion that by living in a multicultural society, in addition to young BSAs now participating and engaging in British social customs as identified in section 4.2.1.1 suggests that Britain has 'transformed' into an all-inclusive 'community' where different cultural and ethnic identities are not only celebrated, but endorsed.

However, when comparing social customs to football, there was an irrefutable characteristic which impacted participation and engagement rates: race. Thus, race-relations with its ability to categorise peoples' superiority/inferiority and acceptance/rejection was highlighted in the following researcher-participant exchange:

> **IP6:** "It's weird because when you go out to places to eat with your mates or whoever, you never actually think about it by being brown I might be seen as different… We've come to a time now in this country especially that we sort of celebrate our differences".
>
> **Researcher:** "Are these feelings the same when you referee matches?".
>
> **IP6:** "No way. The first thing I do… well I used to do… was to find out what areas I'll be refereeing in. Most of Birmingham is alright with it, but you do get some areas which don't see me as a referee… If you're seen to be brown in football, no matter what position or anything, you'll be questioned about your ability. I've had some experiences where one of the managers and maybe coaches asked me about my experiences at that level. I wonder how many other referees they ask that to".

At first glance there is a clear divide between how the participant recognises his ability to engage in everyday norms such as 'going to eat with friends' as opposed to his role as a football referee at the semi-professional level. The fact that the

participant's ability to referee a match (to a level which reflects his qualifications) was questioned because of his ethnic identity reinforced Hall's (2002) assessment of 'White-flight' ideals governing English football.

In examining what barriers-to-entry currently exist which promote the exclusion of ethnic minority groups in English football, participant discourses suggest one of the overwhelming reasons is racism:

> "One of the main reasons why we still see so many problems and incidents in football is because of the racism" (FGP21).

> "No matter which area of football, playing football at your local grassroots clubs or going to matches, we know there's always going to be some sort of racism happening because that's just the way it is" (FGP10).

Despite the efforts of anti-racist policies and procedures 'tackling' the problem (Dixon et al, 2016), participant voices still suggest English football remains a hostile environment for ethnic minority groups. Although functionalists vehemently argue football can be used as a vehicle for change (Gibbons, 2014), evidently a 'double-standard' exists, in that it can actually provide a "platform for racist sentiments to be most clearly expressed" (Carrington & McDonald, 2001:2). The following three participant discourses demonstrate this:

> "The thing is now, you can't even hide it anymore… We're seeing more and more incidents in football… Whether your black, brown, yellow or any other colour, you're always going to be fearful that you may actually get some abuse in football… It's not fair. Someone will just come up and say something to your face. I think even some of us here can think or a time, or know someone who has been racially abused" (FGP8).

> "The issue is now we're seeing more and more racism happening under the radar. It's obviously a massive issue for us if we want to make it in football. It's not like before when you had people actually shouting racist stuff at you…. You could just either avoid them or go up to them because you knew. It's harder now" (IP1).

> "I don't even trust the people in charge to be honest… I just don't think that they care about us at all… I really do think that they're the ones pushing us back. Obviously if they're racist towards us, what chance to we actually have?" (FGP13).

The participants offer direct testaments to the different forms of racism which was identified in Table 1 (page 35). Specifically, all three participants highlight experiences of covert, overt and systemic racism which are still, according to testomonies, rampant in contemporary football. Inclusive dynamics of ethnic minority groups is thus far more complex than first imagined (Solomos, 2013). This links into Hylton's (2009) conceptual understanding of society's influence on football: "we live in a fundamentally racist and unequal society where processes systematically disenfranchise and limit the potential of Black (and White) people"… "We therefore have a racist society that impinges on all aspects of our lives" (p.41).

Focusing on the BSA experience, participant accounts demonstrate their very own experiences of racism across the different football spectrums:

> "I've only ever been called a Paki whilst playing football. I've even been started on by a few drunk fans when walking up to the Emirates [Arsenal FC stadium]" (FGP2).

Participant discourses indicate that there is an evident issue with Islamophobia in English football. The surviving and thriving of Islamophobia: a form of racism aimed at those who are, or perceived to be 'Muslim' (Garland & Treadwell, 2010) presents a complex and multifaceted problem for BSAs. Although there has been a push to 'limit' its influence in recent years, the pull of it being an easily recognisable characteristic for 'Muslim aggression' (Millward, 2008) has meant perpetrators use distinct markers of difference to oppress BSAs. In this context, English football looks less like a multicultural arena, rather it is a public stage for expressions of antipathies towards 'Muslims'.

4.3.1: Islamophobia and playing the game

The increase in Islamophobia as experienced by participants has a substantial impact on BSAs when it comes to playing football at both grassroots (amateur) and semi-professional levels. Participant accounts suggest Islamophobia is woven into the fabric of English football, and was thus the reason why this BSA parent had limited her child playing the game:

> "I don't really allow my son to go play football with his mates. It's just another place where you're called racist things… He wears a turban and I know he'll be the first person they're racist to because of the way he looks… I don't want him going through that at such an early age… You may think I'm cuddling him too much but that's the way I was brought up… He can go play any other sports but I'm not going to allow football" (FGP6).

This clearly demonstrates that football is seen to be a space whereby one who is an 'Other' is oppressed. It offers a contemporary in-group assessment as to the strong feelings of English football housing Islamophobic hate speech. It also declares the ease to which symbolic markers of difference make it 'easier' to be targeted – the turban for example, a religious garment worn by Sikhs to cover their uncut hair is oftentimes mistaken for 'terrorist threats' (Dart, 2016).

Despite Britain promoting its values as a modern and libertarian state (Nandi & Platt, 2014) which champions rights of multiculturalism and religious self-expressions, participant accounts indicate that individuals who belong to certain religious groups that have strong visual characteristics still remain easy targets. The following participant recounts his experiences:

> "When I was a kid the P.E teacher told me to remove my Patka [a varied version of the turban mainly worn by children]… Ask any Sikh, it's a part of our body… It's like telling someone they have to remove a leg or arm. It can't be done… Worst thing is he said it in front of everyone and they all started to laugh and take the piss... After that it wasn't the same. I become a target for

> everyone to take the piss out of. I used to come home annoyed sometimes and my mum and dad would pick up on it but I wouldn't tell them what went wrong because I knew they would not take me again" (FGP18).

This is an example of how the crude 'White/Black' binaries and categorisations that had been commonly articulated in previous decades are rapidly replaced with 'White/Muslim' (Burdsey, 2007a56). It is also an articulation of how the omnipresence of symbolic reference points limit the inclusion of BSAs. Whether one is Muslim, Christian, Hindu or Sikh, wearing a religious garment gives outsiders an opportunity to discriminate. What makes this particular experience even more poignant is the fact that the perpetuators were from his close social circle (school), thus being racially discriminated against seems to outweigh the comraderie associated to team dynamics. However, school dynamics are unique in their own way – as students are in close proximity of each other, it is understood that discriminatory actions have less meaning and should be wavered off as simple 'banter' (Lentin, 2017):

> "Sometimes it's just banter between us lads if we take the piss out of someone. We used to do it when we were in school. We meant no harm or nothing like that… It's just fun and game really" (FGP24).

For BSAs alike, school sporting dynamics was a reflection of football field and the experience of character profiling:

> "In school we used to see some racism happening when we were playing football. Most of it was when we played against other schools really… There was one school we played, really rough… We had 4 of us [Asians] starting the match and literally within the first 5 minutes you can hear their players shouting 'stop the paki' and 'get stuck into the raghead… It was virtually the same when we played Sunday and Saturday League matches'" (IP4).

Evidently, school environments are seen to be a hotbed for Islamophobia. Phrases such as ‘stop the paki’ and ‘get stuck into the raghead’ reaffirm ‘White-flight’ ideals (Hall, 2002) which suggests that ‘Others’ are targeted because of their skill and superiority in a domain which is oftentimes dominated and appropriated by a ‘hegemonic Whiteness’ (Williams, 2017). The participant also refers to similar experiences occurring in grassroots football matches.

In terms of Islamophobia in the grassroots level of football, Lusted (2009:725) maintains that “racism in English sport is often more entrenched… at the local, rather than the professional level”. The following two participant discourses reinforce this notion:

> “I played for a Sunday League team when I was around 11 to about 16. I was the only Asian guy playing. I always felt like I was different to everyone else… They didn’t treat me well… The first time I heard the word ‘paki’ was playing for that team. Worst thing was it wasn’t even from one of the players… It was from one of dad or uncle I think” (FGP27).

FGP27’s experience indicates that overt racism is regularly the go-to form of Islamophobia as it is the most harmful and easily absorbed (Modood, 1990). In line with Table 3 (page 47), there have been numerous accounts in the national news where BSA players have been subjected to overt racism and physical violence: the most notable case is from 1998, where players from Essex-based Bari FC were chased from their Sunday League match and beaten by opposing White players (Garland et al, 2013).

The following participant experiences highlights a similar version of events which nearly resulted in physical altercations:

> “There’s only been one time where I nearly saw a fight on the pitch next to me… All we could hear was commotion and we stopped… The manager had to come out at stop it… I think it was a tournament or something. When we

> finished we asked the girl at reception what happened and she said one of the guys was racist… I didn't know who said it but it was like a team of Bengali guys versus these English fellas" (IP3).

Participant accounts suggest that BSAs are judged to be a 'threat' to English football's hegemonic Whiteness. When it comes to mitigating power between two separate identities, Castell (2010:7) notes (perceived) elitism prospers "from history, from geography from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations". Both participant discourses reveal how BSAs are 'Othered' as their identity fails to match the symbolism associated to what English football represents – a masculine, White arena which is homogenised through Whiteness and (perceived) dominance. Significantly, those who are deemed a 'threat' are oppressed. Since football is 'racially owned' (Farrington et al, 2014), BSAs who compete are seen to contaminate the cultural dynamic installed since its inception (Cleland & Cashmore, 2016). Nonetheless, the differences in lived-Islamophobia was markedly different between different generations.

4.3.1.1: Differences in lived-Islamophobia between BSA generations

Findings explicate how the level of Islamophobia experienced has distinct associations to one's generational status. The findings explicitly indicate that those residing as first and second-generation BSAs received far more acts of Islamophobia than those residing as third-generation BSAs. The following three participant voices acknowledge this, offering a comparable insight into the different experiences they faced:

> **First generation BSA**: "We didn't even get the chance to even play football like you have now… I don't think we ever did go out to the park to play football or anything like that. We just didn't have the time… When it came to that side of it, we never really experienced any form is racist abuse then. Our focus was just about getting into work and helping the family with money… We were disciplined in that manner" (FGP25).

> **Second Generation BSA**: "It was honestly a different time back then. When we were kids, you literally couldn't go out to the park because they had the National Front. They would literally just come and beat us up… When we did play football with, we had to play in secret. On our road there was a factory where all the dads used to work. When it closed we would jump over the gate and play… Once we got caught and me and my brother get beat up badly… We were too scared to even tell our mums" (FGP9).
>
> **Third Generation BSA**: "Obviously today we don't get nowhere near as much racist abuse as the older generations got when they played football. I'm not saying it doesn't happen or anything, of course it does… But it doesn't happen all the time when we play. The last time I was probably called something was about 3 years ago… Obviously with the increase in awareness and education now people are more appreciative and understand who we are… It's going to be interesting to see what happens for the next generation of Asians when they play football" (FGP19).

The above accounts demonstrate the difference in lived experiences when it came to playing football. The embodied cultural capital of first-generations demonstrate that work and financial security meant football was not on the agenda (Burdsey, 2006), thus their chances of experiencing Islamophobia in football was limited. However, the oral testimonies of the second and third-generation BSAs emphasised a shift in lived-Islamophobia. For the second-generation, although many were pushed towards employment and education (McGuire et al, 2001), they still found time to participate and engage in football, and as a result, experienced Islamophobia at a time where far-right political powers were on the rise (Millward, 2008). For the third-generation, they are cognisant of Islamophobia and the fact that there are ongoing incidents. However, their experiences of it are infrequent. This group benefits from the awareness of racism in football through organisations such as Kick It Out and the Professional Footballer's Association. For future generations, one could suggest that with the current hyper-awareness of racism in football, their lived experiences of playing football will become notably easier.

4.3.1.2: Stereotyping and playing the game

Since English football is afforded such a significant position within national popular culture (Giulianotti, 2012; Paugam, 2018), it is inevitable shortcuts will be used to make the intangible, tangible (Blum, 2004). For BSAs specifically, negative stereotypes drives their football exclusion (see Table 4, page 52). Participants reflected upon a number of instances where they experienced stereotyping first-hand. The following participant explains how stereotyping occurred at his first training session after he signed for a semi-professional club:

> "My first training session at Folly Lane [Coventry-based semi-professional club at the time] was weird. I'm a big centre-half and the first thing the guys said to me were 'I thought you guys were small'… So even before they saw me they have these preconceived images of what an Indian bloke should look like" (IP5).

Here, the evaluation of football ability was predetermined from a stereotype that BSAs do not possess the physicality required to compete. The semi-professional footballer accentuates Lipmann's (1922:133) concept of 'pictures in the head', where being an 'Indian bloke', one cannot be tall, strong or athletic, rather they are 'known' to be 'small' and 'skinny'. Such culturally-defined associations have occurred in an array of instances. For instance, one participant recalled the time they were excluded from social outings at his amateur football club because of their religious obligations:

> "It made me laugh. When I was playing I used to think why don't these guys go out and have drink or something like that… To help with team bonding and stuff. I found out about half a season into it from a few fans that they were going out but were cautious to ask me because they thought I would be offended. I can understand where they're coming from, but I said I do drink myself. After that we used to go out at least once a month… Everyone bringing their girlfriends and wives too. It was fun" (FGP18).

The two above experiences are clear examples of a normalisation of BSA stereotypes

which exists within the conceived space of outgroup members. The findings reflect Long et al's (1997) observation that "contemporary stereotypes of Asians are more likely to portray a backward 'functionalist' and hyper-religious culture that is at odds with 'pluralistic British society'" (p.254). What stereotypes do is to prompt BSA players into stating their positions and actions on social customs. If a player thus demonstrates their 'football fit' – a position which not only addresses football skill but social accountability and team bonding, they are either accepted or rejected:

> "With these stereotypes, it's sort of you have to go out and show that they don't fit you if you know what I mean... Like when I went for an open trial at a local club, the manager thought I couldn't make it because he thought I was going to be at the Mosque… I remember I had to tell him that I wasn't Muslim, but I was Hindu. After that it was fine" (FGP10).

Worryingly, participant accounts indicated that those who 'accept' stereotypes as part of football are seen to be less troublesome by football gatekeepers. By coping in this way, BSA players feel that they can overcome stereotypical prejudices in order to succeed. This is the case with the following participant appraisal of his experience at a football trial:

> "I had a trial at Fulham I knew they probably had stereotypes about me but it's just a part of the game. You have to carry on. Did it affect me not getting the contract? Who knows but I never went up to them and asked them outright – 'are you stereotyping?' It will just make them not pick me in the future… I maybe wasn't strong enough looking back" (FGP24).

Contextualising this experience is critical when identifying the extent to which stereotypes harm inclusion and subsequent progression. When it came to challenging his decision of not getting a contract, FGP24 acknowledges that he was passive in his approach, referencing it as 'it will just make them not pick me in the future'. However, by not questioning their decision, one can assume he is endorsing and reproducing 'White/Muslim' hierarchies which suggest that BSAs are not to the standard required that is required in football. It thus puports a race-based absolutionist

notion of 'existence without challenge', in whch 'challenging' stereotypes may be considered a waste of one's time (Kilvington, 2016).

It seems as though when it comes to playing the game specifically, stereotypes play an integral role in football inclusion/exclusion dynamics and dynamisms. For many BSAs, it is perceived that the construction of the BSA 'self' (amongst football gatekeepers) does not include the 'sports gene' (Epstein, 2014) needed when playing the game. What it does do though is standardise BSA football exclusion through shared characteristics – one-equals-all and all-equals-one. This then becomes a cycle of mis-representations in itself, as to overcome exclusions when playing the game, initial stereotypes of community interactions need to be severed.

4.3.2: Institutional racism and recruitment of BAME people

> "You hear stories of scouts and managers at all levels picking the Black and White players… I guarantee you if you have three players who are Asian, White and Black with the same football ability, scouts will definitely pick either the Black or White player… It's rooted throughout the system" (IP6).

Embedded within the power structures of English football, Solomos (1999) describes this form of racism as hidden, secret, private, covered, disguised, insidious and concealed. According to participant accounts, institutional racism is a major contributor to the continued exclusions of BSAs in football:

> "You have to look at the game from years ago. There hasn't been any change whatsoever… I'm not too sure, but I can imagine since The FA came into power there hasn't been much change… I can't even think of a board member who is from an ethnic background… Unless things change from the top down, we're going to get this institutional racism" (FGP5).

> "So you're telling me there's not one person who is Black or Brown who can't do the job they're doing… give me a break. They can say they're all about diversity and inclusion, but behind the scenes they're not really" (FGP30).

Despite promotions of egalitarianism and meritocracy, English football remains a largely White male institution with ethnic minorities a rare sight (Cleland & Cashmore, 2016). Significantly, FGP5 and FGP30 emphasise Long & Spracklen's (2010) notion of 'racial dominance' which continues throughout football's administrative roles. A recent example of this 'racial dominance' in practice was the case against former Chairman of The FA Greg Clarke who resigned after making sexist remarks about girls' football and suggested that 'different career interests' led people of South-Asian heritage to choose IT over sport (Mac, 2020). The argument is thus: if the Chairman of The FA has such principles, values and morals, the possibility of change to recruitment processes is limited.

As of late 2005, all 103 members of The FA were White males. 2011 saw the appointment of Heather Rabbatts as a Director on The FA Board (Goldblatt, 2016). Since then, The FA have been proactive in seeking members from minority backgrounds. However, in 2014, Gregg Dyke, the Chairman of The FA (2013-2016) established a high-profile commission on the future of the England team without a single Black or ethnic minority member. This fuelled Sol Campbell's argument that he would have captained the England team for ten years had he been White, suggesting that The FA was institutionally racist (Owens, 2014). In regards to other governance structures in sport, there are only 5% BAME board members which were identified across Sport England and UK Sport-funded bodies (SportEngland, 2018). Moreover, Inclusive Boards' (2018) findings show that the sport sector is falling behind FTSE 100 firms (8% BAME board membership), the third sector (6% BAME board membership) and the overall UK population (13% BAME).

One mechanism of institutional racism is the manifestation of subconscious bias (Bergerson, 2003). Participant discourses, as highlighted in the below example, reflect this notion:

> "Who knows what stereotypes they have of us… we don't know. I was on one of these equality and diversity programmes with work recently. One of the issues they talked about was that everyone has subconscious biases. It's all about how we can educate people and make sure that we don't use these biases when making decisions… We know those working in football have these

> biases too because of the way they treat ethnic people. There's been loads of occasions where someone has said something out of line which they think is true" (FGP8).

Subconscious bias has thus become ever more prevalent amongst sport clubs and institutions and has transmogrified into its culture and recruitment processes. These subconscious biases manifest and emerge through the racialisation process in which the presence and value of BAME people are compared to the self-constructed stereotypes one has of BAME communities. The denigration of minority groups in this sense maintains the privilege for dominant people. Unless individuals overtly display their biases (as was the case with Greg Clarke), identifying and tackling biases is difficult. However, there are equality, diversity and inclusion training programmes available across the private and public sectors to proactively address biases and prejudices within organisations.

On another note, it would be simply erroneous to suggest the lack of ethnic minority people in positions of power in football is entirely due to institutional racism. In this respect, there is the suggestion that the BSA community need to be far more proactive in regards to getting their children involved in the game:

> "Look, we need to do more ourselves. You can't just blame others for our so-called football issues. Yes, it is part of the problem don't get me wrong, but we have to take accountability… How many parents do you see at football matches? How do kids get to training? If we're there helping our kids and setting an example then they will take that on. Its human nature. Kids are like sponges at that age" (IP2).

As the participant discourse highlights, the roles of BSAs have now changed to accommodate a more hybrid stance which empowers the community to challenge dominant narratives and their subsequent ideologies of football dynamics. One example which the second participant discourse refers to is the development of all-Asian leagues and national tournaments (the most prominent being national tournaments led by The Khalsa Football Federation), in addition to the ever-popular fan groups who actively promote BSA culture and 'community' spirit at matches with sounds and smells of bhangra music, dhol playing and food distribution. Groups

include Punjabi Wolves (Wolverhampton Wanderers FC), Punjabi Rams (Derby Country FC), HammerSinghs (West Ham United FC) and Aston Villa's Punjabi Supporters' group. Importantly, these groups are supported via expressions of trust and recognition by The FA and the clubs they represent.

Just as other public institutions, sport and in particular football, including its managers, scouts, policy-makers, media and academics need to change in how they represent BAME people. The conceptual challenge of an institution deliberately constructing and maintaining biases and racism has led to the implementation of particular policies and programmes.

One strategy which was debated by participants was the applicability of the 'Rooney Rule' - a proposal that requires teams to interview ethnic minority candidates for management and coaching positions (Friend, 2018):

> "They're [football governing bodies] are now talking about the Rooney Rule. It's obviously something which will be new, but it's a starting point to getting us more involved as managers and coaches and scouts… Not everyone is going to be happy but who is when there's change in the game? To be honest, I'm for it. Gives us a better chance as they'll know about us and where to find us… There's obviously something stopping us" (IP6).

As the semi-professional referee notes, there seems to be a 'glass celing' which prevents the inclusion and progression of BSAs in managerial, coaching and scouting positions. If one was to infiltrate the space, one can only progress so far, but when it comes to decision time, the power structures assume that BSAs cannot succeed at the highest level. However, with the inclusion of institutional policies such as a form of the 'Rooney Rule' which attempts to weaken institutional favouritism (Kilvington, 2019), recruitment processes will be far more inclusive. As the participants highlight, implementing policies such as the 'Rooney Rule' is not the solution to the problem. Rather, there needs to be complimentary programmes and projects to tackle exclusions.

4.3.2.1: Career progression and Talent ID programmes

2015 saw the release of The FA's strategy to increase BSA representation in grassroots football. The 'Bringing Opportunities to Communities' plan is to ensure BSA communities are proportionately represented throughout the structures of English football. Areas such as participation and engagement, talent development, role models and developing community activators are chronicled within the plan. Participant discourse highlights the significance of such a plan:

> "You now have these events which give more young Asian lads the opportunities to get scouted… My lad went to one in Birmingham where Chelsea FC scouts were there looking at Asian players… These are the things we need to see more of. The thing is, we can't stop there… We have to make sure our kids get scouted at these events then it's all up to them to go further" (FGP12).

When it comes to coach recruitment, The FA traditionally employs a 'commonsensical' approach (Millward, 2008:2). The approach encompasses a mixture of relevant experience and qualifications (i.e. FA coaching and UEFA B, UEFA A and UEFA Pro-License). Individuals can enrol on these courses and develop their coaching abilities. The following participant talks about her development:

> "I wanted to get into football so got in touch with a few local coaches form my area. They were really supportive… I told them I wanted to coach at the highest level, and they gave me all the information I needed to hit that target... I had to start off with the FA level 1 coaching badge. That was easy… It gets harder and harder when you go up the ladder… There's a lot of homework… You have to coach a certain amount of hours too" (IP3).

Another participant talks about the lack of ethnic minorities gaining these coaching qualifications:

> "I coach for a local Gurdwara team. There's hardly any ethnic minority people when you go on these courses… I'm not saying it's bad or anything… It's just that it would be good for there to be more of us getting these qualifications. It means we have a better understanding of what goes on behind the scenes" (FGP26).

To promote BAME inclusion, The FA have launched a 'BAME Coaching Bursary' which works in conjunction with Kick It Out to encourage, inspire and create more opportunities for coaches from minority groups (TheFA, 2015). To date, this has been successful in enabling opportunity amongst BAME people:

> "I was fortunate to be put on the coaching bursary for BAME coaches… I was mentored by an ex-football manager who has managed in the Premier League. I'm still in contact with him… With his help I've managed to get my UEFA B license" (IP3).

Similar programmes are also available within the news journalism remit as described by the following participant:

> "Over the last 3 years there's been a push to get more ethnic minority faces through to door. We've come to a tipping point now where we know more and more of us want to get through the door, but when you're trying to challenge a history of dominance from, let's be honest, White people. It can be tough... Not only do we need to change the mindsets of them [dominant groups] to show we can, as Black and Asian people do the same job with the quality required, we need to also provide a platform so that we, as a community, have the best possible opportunities available to us" (IP2).

2019 saw the launch of Creative Access – a development scheme for young and aspiring BAME journalists who come from lower-income families. The programme offers on-the-job training, leadership courses, mentorship from leading journalists and graduate job opportunities. Much like the development of BAME-focused Talent ID programmes, Creative Access was launched as a result of claims that news journalism

was institutionally racist (CreativeAccess, 2019), in addition to an Ofcom report on diversity and inclusion (2017) identifying that employees from BAME backgrounds were less likely to be trained or promoted.

Although there are ongoing developments when it comes to managing and coaching in football, Islamophobia also exists in other areas of the game.

4.3.3: Islamophobia and watching the game

Fandom is becoming increasingly popular amongst BSAs. The increase in spectatorship across England's football leagues has given people more opportunity to watch live football. With the increase in spectatorship, there are inevitable acts of discrimination in the stands as pointed out by the following participant discourses:

> "Some of the things I hear at the football, in terms of even kids saying it is disgusting… If they were my kids, they would get a right pasting. It's just ridiculous and the parents are there sitting next to them not saying anything… It makes me laugh" (IP6).

> "Football seems to be one of only a few places where hurling abuse is actually part of going to football… You wouldn't be able to shout the same things in other places where people work" (FGP26).

It is well documented that there are continued discriminatory and prejudiced acts amongst football fans (Garland & Rowe, 2001; Robson, 2004; Millward, 2008). According to Crawford (2004), verbally abusing opposing fans, match-day stewards, officials and players is seen as the cultural norm for fans when attending matches. Partaking in such traditionalist acts enlist a show of team 'commitment', what it means to be classed as a 'real' fan who is part of a collective group vying to gain a competitive edge.

Amongst the divisive rhetoric, racism in stadia is a phenomenon which has yielded little, to no criminal charges, and in some quarters of the world is, increasing season-

by-season (Okwonga, 2018). Look no further than the 2016 European Championships whereby stadiums across France saw continued acts of racism, violence and 'political retaliation' (BBC, 2016). Nonetheless, only the 'high-profile' incidents seem to be punished (i.e. fans who racially abused Raheem Sterling at Chelsea FC were banned from the stadium and were ordered to perform a total of 450 hours of community service BBC, 2018 and a fan was reprimanded for racially abusing Liverpool FC's Mohammed Salah in a match against West Ham United FC and was fined and ordered to enrol in an equality and diversity programme BBC, 2020).

Although there have been numerous recognised incidents involving fans and racism, one of the most prevalent amongst 'Muslims' was when Middlesbrough FC's Ahmed Hossam Hussein Abdelhamid (known as Mido) was subjected to 'terrorist bomber' chants and taunts from a section of Newcastle United FC's away support when the two clashed in a heavily-anticipated North-East derby in the EPL in 2007 (Steward, 2008). From a geographical perspective, one may argue BSAs have little in common with the incident, especially as Mido is Egyptian. However, what is comparable is that BSAs are subjected to similar Islamophobic taunts where race, ethnicity and religion mix. This is illustrated in the following account whereby the participant heard Islamophobic phrases:

> "I'll always remember when my brother was playing [football]. It was just a local Sunday League match in the area. My brother and his mates were all playing in the same team… All his mates from school. One of his teammates – an Indian kid was called a 'paki'… They were only about 13 or 14 at the time. I was around 17. After the game I spoke to the manager and he just shrugged it off… My brother didn't say anything either. He just carried on like it was normal for them… For me it was a massive shock" (FGP14).

A similar experience was encountered by another participant:

> "I took my 2 cousins to a match down in Nuneaton years ago. We heard someone shout 'raghead' to one of the medical team… You know those guy who help a player when he's injured. Then everyone started to laugh with some even chanting 'terrorist'… Really heart-breaking… I don't think he [medical team member] heard" (FGP24).

This links into the findings that racism is most prevalent at the grassroots levels in football (Lusted, 2009). What it also explicates is the normality of it. The 2018/19 season saw acts of racism by spectators rise by 38% across England's top four leagues – in August 2017, there were 64 reported incidents in the EPL alone and 47 in the EFL, compared to 40 and 29 at the midway stage of the previous season (Henry, 2018). Worryingly, statistics at the grassroots levels are even higher – though are proven to be inconclusive as many fail to report them (Fletcher, 2014). A Sky Data Poll for Sky Sports News (2019) revealed that 86% of football fans who regularly attend grassroots and professional football matches have witnessed a racist incident at a match. This statistic is backed by a UEFA B qualified coach who witnessed an incident when preparing for match:

> "I know racism still happens in the stands now… When I went to a match up North, we heard someone say the n-word… So if they can say the n-word, you know they'll say stuff like that against us [Asians]… It's so easy to do it at football matches because they know they won't get in trouble of it. You may have some other fans saying stop it and stuff, but you know there won't be any real action against them" (IP3).

The ease to which fans can shout and chant racist phrases in football reinforces its existence. Incidents of hate crime connected to 287 football matches in England and Wales were reported in the 2019/20 season, with 75% (214 matches) related to race. Two prime examples being: (i) a black PSG FC fan was forcefully pushed off an underground tube by Chelsea FC fans in a 2015 Champions League fixture, whilst simultaneously chanting "we're racist, we're racist and that's the way we like it, we like it" (Chrisafis, 2017), and (ii) Raheem Sterling being called derogatory phrases such as the n-word whilst playing in a high profile league match in the 2018/19 season against Chelsea FC. Those accountable were later ordered to pay a fine, given suspended sentences, dismissed from their jobs and banned from attending future matches (Fifield, 2018).

4.3.3.1: Centralising Islamophobia in Football: simply part of football?

Findings do demonstrate that Islamophobia manifests amongst football fan collectives. However, the extent to which it impacts and effects BSA match attendance is questioned by the following participant:

> "I actually think some of these so-called fans who shout racist abuse actually don't know anything about the stuff they're saying… Like for them I can just imagine they don't know anybody can be Muslim… They just see any brown person and shout Islamophobic phrase… You have Sikhs who also get called stuff… Just look at those 2 from AFTV… It doesn't mean they're doing it because they don't like our religions" (FGP5).

According to the participant, Islamophobic superlatives thrown by fans is "more of a form of cultural racism than religious intolerance" (Modood, 1997:4), whereby the dominant football culture pits against cultural change, instead of outright religious intolerance, as religion in itself it not exclusive to colour, caste, ability, gender or creed. It seems as though fan collectives adopt traditional forms of racism, much of which relies not upon religious practices, but upon cultural prejudices which are thus justified by the categorisation of groups of people into biologically-defined 'threats'. This links into Allen's (2007) argument which suggests that the term Islamophobia is 'inconclusive' and 'bland' as it lacks analytical clarity.

There is also the claim that football operates within its own cultural confines, thus acts of discrimination from fan collectives is understood to be part of the 'football culture':

> "I defo see it just as football… It wouldn't really bother me if I heard someone shout something bad about us at football. I know it just happens mainly in football and not outside of it. You can't label everyone who says something bad as a racist, that's just wrong because we all get a little heated sometimes and say something bad or something we regret… Football is one of those places because everyone wants to win and they'll say anything to help the

team get the win, even if it means yelling something at a player to put them off their game… It's just football. It's the way it works" (IP4).

"All fans try to do is try and get under the skin of the opposing fans. They'll shout anything. After the game it's all over and done with. It's what makes football so good to be around" (FG14).

The two testimonies suggest that discriminatory rhetoric at football matches are perceived to be merely in-game, stand-alone incidents which have little significance to wider mainstream norms, ideals and values. These findings illustrate Millward's (2017) claims that Islamophobic discourses are defended with five sub-ordinate frames. First is all racist sentiments should be seen as just a joke or part of football 'banter'. Second is the fact that racism exists all over the country. Third is the notion that by living in a liberal and democratic state, one has the ability of free speech. Fourth is that racist chanting are no worse than other discriminatory behaviours (i.e. sexism and 'fat shaming'). Fifth is the fact that fans who shout racist phrases are in the minority, thus it would be inaccurate toe label all fan collectives as racist.

4.3.4: Islamophobia and coping mechanisms

English football's hegemonic Whiteness and the subsequent Islamophobia it manifests has meant communities have had to embed certain coping mechanisms in order to continue participating and engaging in football activities. Coping mechanisms are strategies individuals use in the face of stress and trauma to help manage painful or difficult emotions (Algorani & Gupta, 2020). Within participant discourse, several coping mechanisms were identified.

First was participating and engaging in football activities as a group:

"I never used to go to matches when I was younger because of what happens… When we go to matches now, we always go in groups just because you're there for one another if anything goes wrong… But that's what gives us that adrenaline rush… Like I'm 28 now and my mum still asks me who I'm going with if we go to a game. It's just that sense of security" (IP4).

As the participant postulates, ethnic minority fans who attend matches in numbers limit the chances of being hurt or abused, thus acting as a racial coping strategy (Ratna, 2014). A second form of coping is a willingness to immerse oneself in football culture when attending matches:

> "The first couple of matches I went to were sort of nerve-wracking and scary. I was a brown guy going into an all-White intimidating environment. I only went because a couple of guys from work were season ticket holders and I wanted to see what all the fuss was about. From then on I was hooked… The football norms of going out to the pub before the match and then after was new to me… You'd think a match is only 90-minutes but when you're a fan its practically an all-day thing… But after that feeling of having nerves at the start, everyone seemed to have accepted me and that feeling of being different went away" (FGP6).

This participant's racialisation was 'reformed' once he became 'comfortable' with the cultural customs associated with fan engagement. Unlike playing the game, the fan experience offers a separate, but equally distinctive set of intangible 'rules'. Gone are the times where football was seen as a 90-minute match, rather 'real' fans are now expected to participate in 'match-day customs. These include going to local pubs before a match and discussing football tactics and strategies, in addition to going for a 'post-match pint' to evaluate team performance. If one was to bypass such customs, their level of team support is questioned. An example of this fan phenomena is illustrated in the following participant account:

> "When I first started to go to matches when I was around 15 or 16 I would go with a few friends from school. We'd go together. Get the bus, grab a bite to eat from the chippy then head to the pub… But after a few games I didn't like it. We were around these guys who just wanted to get drunk and talk a load of crap. It wasn't my thing… my mates liked it. I actually wanted to enjoy the football. My dad would give me some money for the ticket and stuff. So obviously he worked hard to give me the money… When I told them I just wanted to go to the match and then come home and they sort of said what the point in even coming then? After that they never used to ask me to go to matches" (FGP22).

Third is educating and mentoring fellow members of the community. The following participant describes how her platform has enabled other young Muslim girls to participate and engage in football activities:

> "I do think that me being a Muslim women who wears her hijab in different colours and isn't afraid to speak her mind is good as it shows other young Muslim girls that they can do it as well… You look at me and see a small women, but I can still banter with the guys and do stuff like that… I'm an ambassador for a couple of charities and projects nationally and the amount of questions I get from young Muslim girls and their parents is heartening… It wasn't why I got into it, because that was because I want to manage Arsenal later on [laughing]… But if I can help someone who wants to get into football and who doesn't think she fits in because of the way she looks then that's a bonus for me… But it's also good for me too. I can look back and see where I've come from and the amount of problems I had to overcome" (IP3).

Mentoring others provides a sociolisationing through personal and professional support to facilitate the success of others. It thus offers a collectivist approach which centralises empowerment and the confidence that they too have the possibility of become an active football coach, should they wish to. IP3 also discusses her initial reaction when asked to mentor young girls, stating that she would benefit herself, insofar it would highlight the challenges she had to overcome to get into her current position.

Fourth is framed by an understanding of 'societal change' which suggests that society, as a whole, is less racist:

> "We're in a better situation than we were a decade ago. There's far less racism than there was before… People in football understand who we are now. Even on religious festivals like Vaisakhi and Eid, clubs are posting statements on their Twitter and Instagram. You would never have got that back then. We should look at positives like that instead of focusing on the negatives" (FGP2).

FGP2 addresses the fact that society is now more tolerant of groups and communities who are often marginalised and discriminated against. In particular, the participant points out how attitudes towards racial groups in Britain have become more accepting over time. This change is attributed to older, less tolerant generations being replaced by young cohorts who are more inclusive and open-minded in their attitudes of cultural other (Janmaat & Keating, 2019). We see this demonstrated in how football fans have accepted 'Muslims' as part of fan culture.

4.3.5: MO SALAH, SALAH: Preventing Islamophobia through performance

With melodies borrowed from opera, music halls, nursery rhymes and even Eurovision, the world of football chants is a chaotic, life-affirming and awe-inspiring phenomena filled with emotional lexes and collective practices. In some cases, it has achieved a collective unity in a space that historians believed to be "a site for disorder and 'uncivilised' practices" (Knijnik & Spaaij, 2017:39). Reflective of this trend, participants singled out the chants for Mohammed Salah (Table 18, page 210 reproduced below), nicknamed the 'Egyptian King' by Liverpool FC fans, as being seen as a feat against endemic racism within English football:

> "You heard of that Liverpool song about Mo Salah? The one where they talk about him being a Muslim. Not in a bad way… they sort of appreciate his religion and culture" (IP1).

Team	Player	Chant
Liverpool FC	Mohammed Salah	"Mo Salah, Mo Salah Running down the wing. Salah la, la, la, la, la, la, Egyptian King"
Liverpool FC	Mohammed Salah	"Mo Salah, la, la, la, la Mo Salah, la, la, la, la If he's good enough for you, He's good enough for me. If he scores another few then I'll be Muslim too. If he's good enough for you, He's good enough for me, Then sitting in a mosque is where I wanna be…"
Liverpool FC (as a response to Islamophobic chants by other teams)	Mohammed Salah	"Mohammed Salah, a gift from Allah; He came from Roma to Liverpool; He's always scoring, its never boring; So please don't take Mohammed away"

Table 18: Mohammed Salah anthem from Liverpool FC fans

This is a phenomenon which summaries the acceptance of 'Muslims' as announced by the following participant:

> "You'd have thought that would never happen, especially in Liverpool where a lot of the fans are white. The song has gone a long way in trying to get Muslims accepted in football. For the first time, being Muslim and in and around football makes me proud of being who I am and where I came from… I can actually hold my head up high when normally I would feel a bit worried" (IP2).

There are multiple points of note worth dissecting from this participants views. Firstly, it seems as though winning supersedes acts of discrimination. These findings align with Tapp's (2003:207) viewpoint on this dichotomy whereby fans "think that the club winning is more important than hurling abuse". Ever since football's inception, winning has played a large part when it comes to gaining 'new' fans, whilst at the same time offering supporters the opportunity to gloat or 'banter' with opposing team fans (Goldblatt, 2014). Secondly, football chants can impart a degree of

belonging and acceptance. It is well-documented how Mo Salah felt unwelcome in English football after his brief spell at Chelsea FC in 2014 (before moving to Roma in Italy) (Marsden, 2018), however a song named after you communicates acceptance, approval and recognition. Thirdly, this phenomenon indicates a positive shift to fans' willingness to accept 'Others' religious practices as an extension of who they are. Fourthly, localised 'change' can inform national 'change' – Liverpool FC is known to have a passionate and fanatical following, thus integration at the local level (in this instance where fans are majority White) can invoke a national chain reaction. For example, Tottenham FC fans promote its Jewish heritage through fan songs at home and away games (Cloake & Fisher, 2016).

Although there are singular instances where religious and cultural tolerance does exist in football, to this day, they are still scarce. What the findings do suggest however, is that fan collectives acknowledge ethno-religious identities and are thus willing to do anything to increase in-team player performance. The case of Mohammed Salah is a prominent example of this – in the 2017/2018 season, he went onto win several individual awards (i.e. EPL golden boot, EPL player of the season, PFA player of the year, CAF African footballer of the year etc.).

What will be interesting to discover in years to come for Mohammed Salah is whether such tolerance will be sustained even in times when the player is underperforming:

> "We'll see if the fans carry on singing his songs if he has a few bad performances, or if he even leaves Liverpool" (FGP10).

This participant points out that tolerance feelings of acceptance and belonging only exists if it can be long-term. Crucially then, performance of 'Other' players can indeed become a facilitator for inclusion. Nonetheless, participants talked about their participation and engagement in other sports.

4.4: Ideological shift: BSA and football in today's society

Although the above findings demonstrated the complexity of race and race relations when it comes to BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics and dynamisms, a paradox exits whereby we have begun to see a shift in self-identification. Subsequently, a key phenomenon was found in the findings: an ideological shift in the way BSAs tackle, challenge and redress football inequalities.

Building upon the classic, post-integrationist paradigm (Allen, 2002) and the fact that BSA communities are now, more than ever, proactively challenging cultural norms and traditions in a bid to integrate into society, findings demonstrate four inter-relating manifestations which are key to BSA football inclusion dynamics. These include: (i) a 'new Asian mentality' which highlights the mental strength of young BSAs, (ii) arguments that other sports are overtaking football in relation to young BSA participation and engagement activities, (iii) the notion that second and third-generation BSA parents are seeing the benefits of football, and (iv) the increase in visible BSA role models in football, irrespective of playing or non-playing roles.

4.4.1: 'new Asian mentality'

The concept of a 'new Asian mentality' is one which is not referenced directly within the literature but has a presence in all aspects of BSAs lifestyles. It is especially prominent in competitive spaces such as football. It refers to the simple fact that many people of South-Asian heritage have historically-embedded cultural character traits which equate them as being 'timid' and 'fearful'. Example such as, sticking to social hierarchies (i.e. knowing where their place is), not wanting to be extroverts (i.e. seeing 'others' as threats) and vying for financial sustainability over taking risks all have been installed in their psyche since colonisation (Khan, 2008). This lack of mental strength is illustrated in how the following participant talks about his progression in football:

> "There's this thing with our mentality that just doesn't fit football for me. You can't keep blaming everyone else for us not making it in football like the others [different ethnic groups]. I honestly believe that we have something

wrong with our mentality, I don't know what it is but we just don't want it as much as others… Obviously others may disagree or what not but that's the main reason… It's like we've already lost before we even play a match… I'll give you an example – there was this Pakistani lad from school I remember being so good at football, literally no one could touch him. All the other lads were asking him to play for their Saturday and Sunday league teams. He played once but then kept getting kicked. Then he never went again. I tell you what, he could've made it at the professional level but his mentality let him down" (FGP22).

This quote illustrates first-hand how participants' perceptions of the 'old BSA mentality' as 'not fit for purpose'. For this participant, it seems as though the BSA mentality is not attuned to exhibit the ruggedness, nor does it instil a sense of intimidation – two determinates which are essential to successful football progression (Campbell, 2016). Importantly then, one's level of self-efficacy, or "one's belief in one's ability to be a success in specific situations or accomplishment of tasks" (Bandura, 1982:129) is non-existent within the BSA identity. Schneider (2011) points out that levels of inclusion in any reified field is incumbent on one's level of self-efficacy – one has to believe they are good enough to succeed. Through the participant's self-assessment, it can be concluded that BSAs have low levels of self-efficacy, as their culturally-embedded mentality is fraught with intimidation and pressure.

However, this is not the case amongst all respondent discourses. According to one of the participants in Phase III, there have been occasions when one has expressed high levels of self-efficacy which meant he was thus able to succeed in football:

Researcher: Why do you think you made it to the semi-professional level?

Participant: "For me, I knew it was going to be tough from the start, I tell you that. Alright I didn't make it to the professional level but I made it pretty damn high, getting a contract and even being paid. Literally from the start I had a plan of action. I knew I had to work twice as hard as everyone else just to be seen. But I kept a diary, wrote all my goals and what I wanted to achieve in

there. Even to the amount of matches I wanted to play per season, I was that exact… No one really knew about it, I just kept it to myself. It's sort of crazy telling you but I wanted to be the first Asian to properly make it in football" (IP5).

Researcher: So it seems like you had a clear picture in your head of what you wanted to achieve in football?

Participant: "Exactly. That's something which we miss as a community. I don't care what anyone says. We're [BSAs] just too timid when it comes to people telling us no. It's like we just accept it and move on. It's all down to the mentality. We have to be stronger" (IP5).

From the outset, it seems as though this semi-professional footballer was in the minority amongst his community as: (i) he had a vivid plan of action many of his community members have failed to show, and (ii) he was willing to habitually take responsibility in wanting to be the 'first' South-Asian player and represent accordingly. Subsequently, he internalised risk for football success. Even though the participant acknowledged his identity may have supressed his progression in football, it still did not act as a barrier-to-entry. Rather it acted as the opposite: motivating him to succeed, irrespective of circumstances - an important marker of this 'new Asian mentality'.

Others recounted similar lived-experiences, albeit in a different role. The following TV sports broadcaster strategised his employment and subsequent inclusion from the outset:

"I knew that they wouldn't have replied to any of my letters when I was at university. I was studying journalism and for my project we had to write a news piece, or something like that. I wanted to write about football so basically sent out a little questionnaire to the professional managers in the different leagues. I think I sent out around 20 plus. Just saying if they were willing to participate in a short interview – yes or no. I even gave them a first-class postage stamp and a return address envelope… I wasn't going to stop…. Anyway, long story short, most of them got back to me and I think I got a top mark which was good" (IP2).

Both the abovementioned experiences clearly explicate this 'new Asian mentality'. For many then, if a situation is defined as real, it is real in its consequences. In other words, how one defines a situation is dependent on how one perceives it. A person who is therefore consistently doubting their ability to perform ('old' concept of 'Asian mentality'), may inadvertently sabotage their football progression and thus inclusion. Through this 'new' form of 'Asian mentality', the process of attaining something of value (i.e. succeeding, irrespective of identity) outweighs perceived inferiority. This is demonstrated explicitly in how a UEFA B qualified coach refused to be seen as a football outsider when coaching in a different city:

> "When I was coaching up in Newcastle the first training session I had I could sense all these moans and groans from people because of the way I looked. I mean, I'm Muslim, wear a headscarf and I'm a women…. All the things that are not connected to what a coach should look like. I remember after ringing my friend and talking about the sessions… The guys I was coaching were sort of big white skin heads… Big guys with tattoos. At the start they were bantering with me asking why I was here and why I was coaching, because obviously the way I looked was foreign for them… But that didn't faze me one bit. I wanted to make it and show how good I was of a coach. After I went there the second time they sort of warmed up to me and I tell you what…. they stuck by me when other people watching were taking the piss out of me… I was doing that for around 6 months every week driving up to Newcastle. Then I got in touch with QPR and everything changed. They saw my passion and my mentality" (IP3).

These findings uncover something 'new' about the mentality of BSAs – a sense of empowerment and belonging. The feeling of empowerment not only stems from one's ability to celebrate their *Asianness* in football, it cuts across lived experiences, insofar, not being fazed by dominant racialisations. Participant accounts above particularly emphasise these points. The fact that young BSAs have integrated into British social systems could be the reason for their perserverance, determination and drive to succeed. Significantly, the extent to which it is now operationalised as a positive character trait illustrates a changing mental fortitude which is thus exhibited by many young BSAs.

4.4.2: 'Other' sports taking social precedence in BSA communities

Findings highlight that there has been a recent surge in BSAs participating and engaging in sports other than football. This frame of self-segregation from football derives from perceptions and experiences of football being an exclusionary cultural commodity for BSAs:

> "I don't even think football is that important to many of the younger kids anymore… Well not as it was when we were younger. A lot of the kids now are seeing other sports as a way to socialise and learn new skills. Like I know someone who wants to get into golf… He literally goes to all these international tournaments to play. He wasn't interested in playing football… We're seeing more and more of this now… Even if you look at the growth of UFC. The gym I go to loads of Asian kids are asking to get into boxing and MMA because you learn a lot more from those than you do playing football… Funnily enough you get more parents allowing their kids to go into combat sports over football. Just goes to show doesn't it?" (FGP4).

The acceptance that sports such as boxing, mixed martial arts (MMA) and golf are taking social precedence over football is one which is new to BSA and national discourse. FGP4 justifies why young BSAs are choosing to participate and engage in other sports as a mixture of growing popularity and football's problems with inclusion. The rise in popularity of combat sports in particular, has meant: (i) young BSAs are choosing different role models, (ii) such sports offer more applicable social development tools, and (iii) opportunities in such sports are understood to be far more inclusive.

The notion of other sports taking precedence over football in young BSAs development is reinforced by representation. Subsequently, seeing a fellow in-group member be successful in a space suggests opportunity and possibility:

> "Just look at Prince Naseem Hamed and Amir Khan. Prince Naseem was my hero growing up… He's the reason I got into boxing and not football. It was me and 2 mates who got into boxing and not football after watching them. They were one of us so we could associate with them. There were fighters we

could say to our mum and dad look he's fighting so I can too" (FGP30).

The findings presented above resonate with many facets of Burdsey's (2007b) study of Amir Khan – a Bolton-born British-Pakistani professional boxer who single-handedly exposed some of the stereotypes associated with the BSA sporting identity, and how he has positioned himself as a 'non-traditional' Muslim which is an advocate of integration. Both Prince Naseem Hamed and Amir Khan symbolise a hybrid, bi-cultural individual, fusing together ethno-religious indictments to 'masculine' sports which, as a result, produced new forms of identification amongst many in-group and out-group communities. An identification which explicates sporting inclusiveness/capability (BSAs are more accepting of boxing with the abovementioned inclusion) and national loyalty (following Britain at sporting events). Importantly, they as role models, give BSAs: (i) a goal to achieve, in that if they can succeed, nothing should stop successive BSAs succeeding in White/Black dominated spaces, (ii) in-group community satisfaction illustrated in masses of BSA following, and (iii) family (parent) gratification whereby an 'other' has successfully infiltrated a masculine space, in addition to successfully amassing a large British following.

4.4.3: Parental influence: *progressive-generational difference* in action

Another factor which has caused an ideological shift is parental influence and in particular, the encouragement young BSAs get towards participating and engaging in football. As first revealed by Bains & Johal (1996) and then taken forward by (McGuire et al, 2001; Ratna, 2011; 2014; Kilvington, 2016; 2019), it is not out of the ordinary to suggest that one's activities, pastimes and trends are controlled, to an extent, by their (grand-)parents.

Significantly, one of the oft-cited reasons why BSAs are excluded from football is the notion that parents consciously deprioritise football in households, rather preferring to 'push' their children to participate and engage in other extra-curricular activities – i.e. pursuing education over sport. The following statement supports this notion:

> "When I was younger, I wanted to play football, but my mum and dad didn't want me to. For them it was trying to get me to focus on my education and going to uni… they saw football as a distraction" (FGP28).

The above quote typifies the generalist perspective of BSA parents failing to support their children in their pursuit for football inclusion. However, in contemporary rhetoric which brings forward Burdsey's (2007a:33) concept of 'progressive-generational difference' which critically explores the differences in principles amongst first, second and third generation BSAs, there are distinct changes and adaptations to the levels of football 'acceptance' amongst BSAs. A comparison of these principles amongst each BSA generation is exampled in two statements below:

> "It was different times back then… football just wasn't a priority for our grandparents then. It was all about getting a job and helping the family back in India with money and stuff… They didn't have the time to spend weekends taking my dad to football training or anything… But obviously my dad has learnt from that and doesn't mind me refereeing matches on Saturdays and Sundays" (IP6).

> "My parents played a major part in me not carrying on in football. From the start for them I was wasting my time trying to make it in football, or even going to play for my local Sunday league team with mates. It wasn't that they were trying to knock my confidence or anything, it was more that they didn't know what playing football meant to me… For them everything was about trying to get a good job and look after the family… But it's definitely different now. Indian [Asian] parents are more into sport now and actually see the benefits of allowing their kids to play and even try to make it" (FGP18).

Although coming from different perspectives, both participants highlight the fact that parents play a major role in BSAs football inclusion dynamics. Without parental support, young BSAs are at a significant disadvantage compared to other groups and communities (Goldblatt, 2014). Although participants did not specifically identify why BSA parents are now more accommodating of football, one can use existing literature to fill in gaps: (i) as BSA parents are more integrated into society, their understandings and acknowledgements of football customs are heightened

(Kilvington, 2016), in addition to (ii) BSA Muslim parents beginning to see the positives in relation to participating and engaging in sport (Snape & Binks, 2008).

'Progressive-generational difference' includes not only an increased level of football acceptance, it also is progressive in gender dynamics insofar, it encompasses ideals which allow BSA females to participate and engage in football. The following participant talks about how she takes both her children to football training:

> "I take both my kids to football training on the weekend. My husband coaches at a local club… My girl is 14 and the lad is 8. There's a lot of training going on now for kids now in our community… I don't really see is as a boys can play and girls can't. My daughter was the first one to say out of them both, that she wanted to play football. Me and her father didn't stop it. In fact, we encouraged her to play" (FGP6).

In addition to the above response, the following two fathers utilise their own experiences of being dissuaded against football as youngsters to ensure they gave opportunities for their children to play football:

> "My parents never really allowed me or my brother to play football. Even in the park when everyone else was playing. It was just the way it was. They were both working long hours and we spent our time playing in the next-door neighbour's house. They looked after us… They [parents] didn't really see the value in football… But now with my own two kids I want them to go out and play. My daughter plays football on a Saturday at GNP with other girls her age and my son has played since he was around 5. We go to all the matches, training sessions and meet-ups. They have to mingle and be around other people otherwise we're doing a disservice to them… I always say to everyone playing any sport is beneficial to kids because of what they learn" (FGP16).

> "Every Sunday me and my wife are up early to do all the housework then we take our kids to the temple before our lad has his matches. They normally start at around 11 [a.m] but we have to get there for 10 [a.m]. It's like a ritual now for us… We stand there sometimes in the rain, I mean its England… Me, my wife and my daughter all wrapped up watching the matches. To be fair sometimes we're the only parents watching. Everyone else just drops their kids and then will just pick them up after the games finished and they're changed." (FGP27).

The above experiences are clear examples of 'progressive-generational difference' in action. Significantly, they show a cultural transition which specifically highlights the change in idealogy towards sport, and in particular, football. Now, there is an evident case for parents giving young BSAs the opportunity, encourage and support to play football, a phenomenon, according to participants, previous first-generation BSAs did not provide as their priorities were focused on financial and family security.

This phenomenon is of paramount importance as parental support for young BSAs is one less barrier-to-entry. Still, this trend pertains to third-generation BSA parents and therefore is in early development. For this reason, the depth and breadth of its influence cannot be actively appreciated until fourth generation BSAs become late teenagers to discover whether their numbers in academies and clubs have increased.

Another barrier-to-entry which exhibits exclusion is a lack of role models. However, with the influx of BSAs in presenting, broadcasting and medicial professions, there has been a significant shift in representation over the past five years. Section 4.4.4 examines findings related to this change.

4.4.4: Role models: BSAs as 'presenters', 'broadcasters' and 'physicians'

Role models in football are seen as an important factor to the inclusion of BSAs in English football. Although previous literature (i.e. Burdsey, 2007b; Saeed & Kilvington, 2011) identifies its influence on the playing side of football, little research has gone into recognising the value of BSAs in non-playing roles to the 'Asians in football movement'. The below participant response demonstrates this difference:

> "There's virtually no players I know of whose Asian and made it at the professional level in sport… You know at one of the top leagues. That's the biggest problem for us. Just imagine the difference we will see… But then again, we have more and more Asians in football now with there being a lot of us lot covering football on like radio and TV… On the way home I know we have a Pakistani women covering Liverpool news on the radio" (FGP26).

The participant differentiates inclusion/exclusion dynamics across playing and non-playing positions in football. This acknowledgment is key inasmuch, if one envisages a cultural practice that constitutes a long-term, visible career path, one will devote more time and effort to it. The following two participant testimonies identify the number of BSA presenters and broadcasters who work on mainstream football coverage channels as an important part of such cultural practice:

> "Yes… there are more and more Asian broadcasters and presenters now on TV. I've seen a few on BT and Sky Sports… It's good for our development" (FGP12).

> "There's more and more Asians on TV and radio now than ever before… They're even covering Premier League football now" (FGP22).

It is evident from the two testimonies above that BSAs recognise other BSAs who are working within the football space. This demonstrates that there is visible representations. This can thus be interpreted as progress for BSAs in relation to tackling the stereotypes which exist:

> "With there being more Asians now working and covering sport, there's now a big reality hit for everyone… it shows that these stereotypes are actually wrong. Obviously Asians do want to work in football… Obviously we want to make it as footballers but if that can't happen I think having people who we can relate to will be good for our overall football involvement" (FGP3).

This quote explicates the impact BSAs have on the cultural production of sport when it comes to assessing the inclusion of BSAs. It thus centralises two key points: (i) having visible BSA representation in football, irrespective of position, helps challenge existing stereotypes, and the fact that (ii) BSA communities are actively seeking roles in football highlights the notion that positions are beginning to open up for BSAs. Significantly, the above response leans on Coyle's (2010) suggestion that role models (or trailblazers as some refer to it as) spark an intense appraisal to in-group members where they recognise it as an opportunity to 'be like them' (p.106).

Table 19 reproduced below highlights key BSA public figures who are working as journalists, broadcasters and presenters on mainstream channels (at the time of writing).

Presenter	Channel	Role
Seema Jaswal	BBC; Eurosport; IMG	TV & Radio presenter
Reshmin Chowdhury	BT Sport	Journalist & TV presenter
Manish Bhasin	BBC	Journalist & TV presenter
Rishi Persad	Channel 4; BBC; Eurosport	TV presenter
Dharmesh Sheth	Sky Sports	Reporter
Kamlesh Purohit	BBC	Sports commentator
Noreen Khan	BBC; LFCTV	Radio presenter & TV presenter

Table 19: BSAs in TV broadcasting and presenting roles

This then extends to empowerment, the meaning of being proud of one's identity and how that can translate to in-group and out-group onlookers. The following testimony emphasises the positive impact this would have towards socio-cultural dynamics between young BSAs, football and wider society:

> "For me, these guys [BSAs] working in football's broadcasting need to be proud of their identity. Our kids look up to them for inspiration. We want them to actually post things on their social media about them celebrating their own religious and cultural festivals. We don't want them to have to hide who they are… It just gives everyone else a sense of pride about ourselves too then" (FGP23).

It seems as though the participant is referring to the claim that one has to dilute their 'Asianness' to succeed in football (Burdsey, 2006a). However, having a role model who appreciates and promotes their identity inspires other in-group members. This would clearly have a positive effect on the BSA community as pointed out the participant. With social media being a powerful took for self-representation, the

participant argues that one now has the ability to control their voice and thus reach a number of people. Such form of self-representation thus becomes a powerful tool to help break down barriers. The following participant calls for BSAs successfully working in non-playing positions to acknowledge their identity and status to help young BSAs progress in football:

> "We need to see those [BSAs] who are covering football to help come out and actually help us progress in football… We need to see something different. How good would it be for them to reach out and help the youngsters? A simple call to their bosses saying something like 'come on, we want to see more Asians in football. What can we do to help?'… you know that would be great to see. It will give us confidence that those in power actually want to see us progress" (FGP2).

The responsibility of role models thus extends to facilitating progression paths for BSAs. As the participant suggests, doing 'something different' is seen as a favourable act that demonstrates a collective need for BSA inclusion, and as a result sparking the 'ignition' for change (Coyle, 2010). This phenomenon is highlighted in the following exchange between the researcher and a participant:

> **Researcher**: How do you feel about being seen as a role model for other British-Asians?
>
> **IP2**: "Asians probably do see me as some sort of role model. I don't think there's much of a problem with it. You obviously see me with my name and identity and you know I'm not English. It's good. There's definitely a lot of Asians coming into sports journalism. Maybe one aspect is because there's a few of us here".
>
> **Researcher**: Do you think you can do more to help other British-Asians get into football?
>
> **IP2**: "Definitely… it would be nice to help them get to where they want to get to in football… we can't say one specific thing as we know people have

> different needs… but yeah, I'd definitely be willing to put my hands up and say what can I do to help… It's like me being here at this conference now".

There are multiple points to unpick from the above exchange. First is the fact that the participant acknowledges being a role model. In this sense, acknowledging how one perceives him puts him in a position of power which is thus strengthened by his identity characteristics matching those who are often excluded. Second is the understanding that there are BSAs who are transitioning into sports journalism. This suggests that young BSAs are actively choosing to pursue a career in sports. Third is the willingness to support other BSAs. Role models are considered key players in the socialisation process of others (Bricheno & Thornton, 2007), therefore this becomes a key component to facilitating inclusion as one has the possibility of observing and experiencing behaviours of an individual who has 'succeeded' in football.

The idea of publicising role models can also have a negative impact on the 'Asians in Football movement'. For instance, 'tick-box exercises' and 'over-hyping' of minority groups in English football can cause problems to those who believe they have the talent to succeed, irrespective of their identity. This is highlighted in the following participant's views:

> "One thing I don't want is for this to be just a simple tick-box thing… what's the point then? You know what… that will make things even harder for us. You can't just have someone playing at the professional level in football just because they have an Asian name or because they're brown and wear a turban… it's even the same with referees. They have to be there because they're good at what they do. It's as simple as that" (FGP17).

This links to Farrington et al's (2012) suggestion of 'over-hyping'. As the participant points out there can be problems with the juxtaposition of role models in regards to governing bodies and football clubs 'forcing' a favourable recruitment process to ensure BSAs are represented. The problem therefore brings forth the undue comparison of forced visibility versus skills, experiences, knowledge and expertise which is often the case in debates surrounding the 'Rooney Rule' – a proposal that requires teams to interview ethnic minority candidates for management and coaching

positions (Friend, 2018). Nonetheless, according to The FA's inclusion strategy (2015), the organisation is aware of 'over-hyping' and aim to promote the inclusion of BSAs based upon experience rather than upon identity.

Through participant voices, it is clear that role models are important to BSA inclusion in English football. Where it can become successful is through role models who are today, successfully working in non-playing positions. The question therefore becomes: what can they do to help BSAs progress in both, playing and non-playing positions. Nevertheless, it is also important to identify that individual solutions cannot solve systematic issues.

4.5: Conclusion

Chapter 4 has provided a thought-provoking analysis of BSAs inclusion/exclusion dynamics within English football. It presented an analyse which included an assessment of today's integrated BSA, the manifestations of Islamophobia and the extent to which it influences inclusion/exclusion, in addition to providing an insight into the ideological shift which encompasses phenomena such as 'new Asian mentality', progressive-generational differences and the inclusion of BSAs as role models in non-playing positions. This chapter has thus demonstrated the complexity of football inclusion/exclusion. Chapter 5 analyses participant perceptions, interpretations, attitudes and opinions of advertising.

Chapter 5: Advertising (non-)representations effecting BSA football inclusion/exclusion

5.1: Introduction

Chapter 5 presents the findings which specifically relate to the perceptions and interpretations of advertising representations. The chapter is subsequently organised into three parts. Part 1 analyses how media representations affect wider BSA social dynamics in the mainstream. Part 2 examines the different factors and features which inform advertising perceptions and thus the level of influence they have on the 'self'. Part 3 analyses the effects of advertising representations to football recruitment processes. Chapter 5 addresses Research Objective 3.

5.2: Macro forces and the cultural production of BSAs

Deciphering BSAs and their subsequent 'fit' within English football is often a difficult and challenging task, as much like other minority groups (i.e. LGBT, disabled etc.), their positions change over time, space and place (Goldblatt, 2016). Nevertheless, the main assumption to date has been thus: BSA communities prefer to self-segragate, hence their inclusion in collective social spaces are none-existent (Millward, 2008; Garland & Treadwell, 2010). However, there are several key phenomena which were discovered across Chapter 4 which challenge these assumptions. These include an integrated and bi-cultural young BSA, significance of football to BSA communities, Islampohobia and in particular coping mechanisms and prevention strategies and an ideological shift influenced by a 'new' Asian mentality, progressive-generational difference and an increase in role models in non-playing positions.

There is the argument however, that the mainstream media position the BSA identity through a negativized and exoticised lens (Jaspal & Coyle, Millward, 2008, Fletcher 2014). The symbolic nature in which the mainstream media extort such a narrative is expressed in the views of participants. FGP6 and FGP28 both highlight that the

representations of BSAs in the mainstream media significantly impact how BSA communities are perceived, conceived, appreciated and understood in society:

> "I do think there's the bigger picture of how we're looked at through the media as a whole first to analyse. That obviously has a massive influence on these adverts" (FGP6).

> "The way the adverts are represented is unfair to us. But I don't think you can talk about this topic without looking at the wider, more influential factor – how we're viewed in the media and why we're constantly seen in a negative light… Then we can look at the football side of things" (FGP28).

These findings demonstrate that media representations (macro mechanism) play a significant role in (inter-)community (meso) and lived-experiences (micro) which in turn have a lasting effect on social dynamics and dynamisms (Saren et al, 2019). Evidently, FGP6 and FGP28 both determine that the racialisations which occur are often-times moulded by media narratives, thus should be part of the discourse surrounding advertising representation's influence to BSA football inclusion/exclusion. Subsequently, section 5.2.1 examines key findings in regards to the 'negativisations' which manifest from mainstream media.

5.2.1: Identity markers, grouping and Media: their role in the 'negativisation' of BSAs: a case of 7/11 & 7/7

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, multiple key events have taken place which have problematised the position of BSAs (i.e. 9/11 and its global repercussions; urban unrest in Northern England in 2001; 7/7 London transport bombings; 2015 Paris terror attacks). According to participant discourses, post-attacks there was an explicit change in religious, racial and ethno-cultural expressions projected in the media, which in turn has strengthened the vitriolic denunciation of anyone 'connected' to 'Muslims':

> "Just look how we're [people of South-Asian heritage] as a whole are stereotyped after the 9/11 and 7/7 terrorist attacks. Every brown person who walks into an airport is considered a terrorist. I mean sometimes I even have to take off my turban when I'm away… The worst one was when I went to California last year; I mean it was so degrading. They made me take it off in front of everyone there. I asked for a separate room, but they said they didn't have one… I'm quite proud of my Turban. People were around looking at me. It was really badly managed. I won't be going to that airport again… And where have the security got that from? The media… So I'm sure everyone in football is influenced by what we see" (FGP18).

> "The media literally killed us [BSAs] after each of the attacks. We were all basically said to be terrorists and you couldn't go anywhere if you were Brown. It was hard seeing family members and the community having to think twice about going anywhere it was that bad… I don't really remember much after the Twin Tower attacks, but when it happened in London I remember our local Gurdwara making announcements to look after ourselves" (FGP16).

FGP18 and FGP16 provide impactful explanations of the role the media played in the denunciation of 'Muslims' (Allen, 2010). FGP18 provides a lived-experience of the treatment many other 'Muslims' face on a day-to-day basis (Alsutancy, 2012). By having vivid character traits (i.e. bring Brown or wearing a turban), one is easily identifiable, thus become targets, which FGP18 determines as being implemented in the psyche of society by mainstream media. It also supports Singh's (2017) argument that identity markers which are common within South-Asian cultures and religions (i.e. Sikh turban) is often-time denounced as a representation of 'Muslimness'. In essence, a 'halo-effect' manifests whereby "one characteristic dominates the way that a person is viewed by others" (Cialdini, 2007:171).

Although governmental strategies designed to destabilise this 'mediatised' way of operating (Cottle, 2004), in addition to engaging young BSAs in regards to their positions in Britain, have materialised in recent times (i.e. Arts Council England's 2017 strategy to speak to young ethnic minority communities in a bid to create relationships between 'oppressed' groups and mainstream media), there is little available policy material which specifically identifies the harm media representations have on BSA communities (policy takes a generalised perspective as per the 2017 Ofcom Broadcasting Code section 2: Harm and Offence; representations/material

must not include “offensive language, violence, sex, sexual violence, humiliation, distress, violation of human dignity, discriminatory treatment or language” without context or justification p.16).

Rather than seeking to understand the diverse lives and landscapes of BSA communities, much of the political debate centres on ‘their’ cultural dislocation from ‘mainstream society’ and the need for young BSAs to integrate more in British customs (Millward, 2008). It would thus be stretching the truth to assume that BSAs have been talked at, talked for and talked around, but they have not been talked to. IP4 suggests this is of paramount importance:

> “We’ve had this lingering around for ages. They’re [policy] talking on behalf of all of us and it’s not really right. You get all these reports saying this and that but how many Asians have they really spoke to about the issues we face? Maybe some in one area of England but they haven’t come where I live so you can’t really generalise… I would say the media is probably the worst of them all. We’re all definitely the victims when it comes to the media because anything that happens it’s ‘oh he’s a Muslim terrorist’. How come they never talk about a white person’s religion when they do something wrong?” (IP4).

As the participant points out, recommendations of change need to consult the community in which it is looking to engage. This thus links into the CRT agenda which underpins this study. By claiming ‘we’re all definitely the victims when it comes to the media’, identity manifestations become a key characteristic in portrayals, inasmuch, without having the voices of those who are disenfranchised and excluded (many BSA communities as suggested by this participant), very little can be done to overcome and denounce labels, stereotypes and fixed categorisations of BSA people within media representations. Such a stance links into Mythen et al’s (2009) articulation of victimisation in the media; understood as both “the act by which someone is rendered a victim, the experience of being a victim, alongside the socio-cultural process by which this takes place” (p.742). Critically, this process can be ideological (i.e. pertaining ideas that victimise individuals, groups and communities – participant suggestions that all BSAs are instantaneously labelled as ‘oh he’s a

Muslim terrorist'), as well as having physical consequences (i.e. physical or verbal abuse) (Allen, 2010).

In regards to experiences of oppression in social realms, the media was singled out as a key contributor:

> "If they see a man with a beard, they will instantly think terrorist. You look at the newspapers, I read recently that The Sun posted a picture saying this is what a terrorist looks like, with a picture of Bin Laden. And the good people who have beards and a turban will be discriminated against because of what they saw. Then this goes into football. So if I saw that as a dad, I would tell my son, and my son would tell his mates and then they will be racist to people who look like that. Not me personally, but I know that's how some people work" (FGP5).

IP5 contextualises this in his experience of going to a music festival:

> "I went to Parklife just after the London attack last year. The first thing I remember was when I was queuing up one of the guys asked me if I was that guy from the paper and if I was a terrorist in front of all his mates to try and make himself look good… I never really thought of it much before that, but after I used to have a scan of the papers and I realised they would always bring religion into it if an Asian did something wrong" (IP5).

Both participants share their thoughts on a particular case: associations to 'terrorist' leaders who share similar character traits to wider BSA communities (turban, beard, skin colour and language). Clearly, representations play an influential role in positioning groups and communities within specific categorisations – the fact that one's conceived and perceived spaces are influenced and determined by media representations is directly highlighted in participant testimonies. Importantly, not only does this manifest in social gatherings as experienced by IP5, there is clearly connections between media portrayals and community experiences in football as noted by FGP5.

As claimed by a Runnymede Trust (2014) survey, 78% of people believe media representations of ethnic minority groups promotes racism. Speaking specifically of

the BSA identity, Wazir (2004) identifies how comparable media representations of BSAs and White communities illustrates why many BSAs are targeted: religion is oftentimes the cause of problems. Such a stance is still relevant in contemporary relations. For instance, when a BSA grooming gang were caught and prosecuted in October 2018, the media presented 'Muslimness' as a key influencer, thus those associated to the 'Muslim' religion and cultures were marked as 'possible future assailants' (BBCNEWS, 2018). Other 'celebrations' include 'punish a Muslim day' and 'kill scum Muslims' (Baynes, 2018). The following testimony by FGP14 provides a clear and concise evaluation of how the relationship between media portrayals and social exclusions manifests

> "We see how the media represents us… It doesn't really effect me personally, but I do think it has a massive consequence to the way people see us" (FGP14).

Moore et al's (2008) evaluation of media image portrayals of Islam in the United Kingdom between 2000 and 2008 highlight dominant representations of British-Muslims are innately associated with religious and cultural difference, terrorism and extremism. Fundamentally, their research found four out of five commonalities used about 'Muslims' in newspapers couple Muslims to 'problems' and 'threats', inasmuch phrases such as 'terrorist', 'extremist', 'Islamist', 'suicide bomber' and 'militant' were readily available (Moore et al, 2008:3). Consequently, through the media lens, BSAs are rarely depicted as a group who contribute positively to social relations (Millward, 2008), rather, they are commonly referenced as 'high risk'.

Section 5.2 has provided a key point to explicate: cultural production in society, its mechanisms, processes and procedures are in fact, producing oppressive ideologies that are shaped by mainstream media portrayals.

Section 5.3 unpicks the four key characteristics which influence interpretations of advertising.

5.3: Advertising representations and BSA football inclusion/exclusion

Findings highlight how perceptions of advertising representations are incumbent on five socio-cultural and ethno-cultural manifestations. Importantly, consumption advertising representations for participants were influenced by: (i) ethnic self-awareness (ESA), (ii) religious differences, (iii) 'understanding' of football, and (iv) parental differences. Table 20 (page 233) reproduced below gives a brief outline of each category. Analysis of participant discourses are followed.

Category	Key findings, meanings & explanations – significance to BSA football inclusion/exclusion
5.3.2: ESA	1. Those with high levels of ESA were influence more by advertisements – ability to see no same-ethnicity people/models meant 'perceived' community-football fit was non-existent 2. Ethnic composition effected ESA 3. The influence of football inclusion/exclusion in this context has direct relations to one's level of ESA 4. Linked to experiences and consumption 5. 1st generation BSA were influenced more – this maybe because their ESA are inherently higher than their 3rd generation counterparts (progressive-generation difference)
5.3.3: Religious affiliations	1. There are various different religions & cultures under the BSA 'community' umbrella – 'community of communities' 2. Cultural stereotype – BSAs favour cricket over football – advertising representations mirror this socio-cultural concept 3. Layers to sport inclusion/exclusion - Strongbow (cricket) advertisement – although it represented cricket as the 'corporate marketing tool', Muslim participants could not relate to what was being represented as related to an alcoholic brand 4. Sikhs – mainly the Punjabi Sikhs are known to be heavy drinkers so the fact that an alcohol beverage was presented not only influenced their decisions, it further reinforced cultural associations Another example of how associations to cricket install religious & cultural points of reference
5.3.4: 'understanding' of football space	1. Influence of advertising representations to football inclusion/exclusion discourse is dependent on one's understanding of the football space itself 2. Those who participated & engaged in the space were less likely to be influenced by representations as representations do not 'accurately' reflect reality – linking back to feeling of empowerment & the 'new' Asian mentality 3. Those without direct relations to football (i.e. playing, watching or working) are more influenced – see it as a direct representation of reality, thus the perception that BSAs are inherently excluded. Advertising acts as an 'informed educational tool'. Football inclusion/exclusion decisions are made upon these representations
5.3.5: 'mum versus dad'	1. A common variant to representational influence is BSA parental 'roles' – mothers influenced more by exclusion of BSA in advertising over fathers 2. This may be for several reasons – (i) mothers do not like child failing; (ii) feeling that fathers want to live their childhood through their children, thus are less influenced; (iii) in many BSA households, mothers have the last say; (iv) mothers (and fathers) are more apprehensive to change

Table 19: Categories which influence interpretations of advertisements

5.3.1: Ethnic Self-Awareness

As highlighted in Table 5 (page 62), ethnicity is a key characteristic in advertising discourse (Knoll, 2015). ESA occurs when consumers are prompted to use their ethnicity to categorise themselves (Jackson & Andrews, 2005). The complexity of ESA is thus determined by a multitude of tangible and intangible mechanisms. One of the main mechanisms which generate heightened levels of ESA is past experiences. The following three participant discourses demonstrate how their previous experiences proved important to their levels of ESA during their focus group:

> "I work for the NHS and have been put on a few workshops to help improve minorities working at the top levels in the NHS, so I have a good eye for stuff like this... You can see that there's no Asians whatsoever in any of the football ads. Forget the one's you showed here. Even if you look at all the other one's like the Dominos one you see all the time before matches, or even the ones like Paddy Power. They're all just white people. How does that as an ethnic minority make us feel?" (FGP1).

> "The stuff my dad tells me about what happened to him when he was younger always sticks in my mind so I'm always on the lookout for things [ethnic inclusions] like this every day" (FGP7).

> "Going back to how I was treated in football. My own experiences there and how I never got the chance. You always think about how things can be different, and obviously things like this [exclusions] which we see virtually everywhere obviously has an impact" (FGP18).

When one has heightened levels of ESA, their ability to identify ethnic inclusions/exclusions is equally heightened (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001). Though there are multiple ways ESA can be heightened (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001; Demofte et al, 2013), the three participant discourses provide differences in their exposure to ethnic identity. FGP1 talks about his experience of equality and diversity workshops whilst working for the NHS, thus he was 'exposed' to ethnic stimuli previously. FGP7 expresses how his ESA has been heightened through family relationships, thus his ability to acknowledge ethnic inclusions/exclusions in

advertising representations is reflective of his exposure to familial experiences. FG18 discusses how his own treatment in football has had a significant impact on his ethnic identification and subsequent interpretations of advertising.

The use of ethnic primes can also stimulate ESA (Forehand et al, 2002). FGP14 talks about the benefits of implementing ethnic primes in regards to spokespeople and actors:

> "I guarantee if you there was an Indian guy in these ads people would recognise it straight away because it's in our blood to relate to our people so in that sense of things I think a lot of us would be able to pick it out" (FGP14).

FGP14 refers to the notion that inclusive representations enables opportunity (Lenior et al, 2013). The participant also highlights that BSA communities would be far more sensitive to inclusive representations (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001). This mechanism is answered in FGP2's discourse which recognises Nav – a prominent American South-Asian music artist:

> "You have that guy in America now called Nav. He's a rapper and he's got a massive Asian following because of it… He's changed how it's been for us massively… Been in a few high profile ads over there too. Before that you wouldn't really get many Asians into that style of rap" (FGP2).

According to FGP2, identifiable South-Asian representatives such as Nav prove impactful in challenging and changing the narrative from excluded/rejection to included/accepted. The participant also highlights the significance of key representatives to in-group dynamics and dynamisms insofar, the artist has obtained a significant 'Asian' following. This supports Forehand et al's (2002) work that utilising ethnic primes positively impact ethnic minority consumption patterns. It is thus safe to mention that before Nav's rise in urban rap music, American South-Asian talents were ignored and disregarded (Complex, 2017). However, in recent years it is understood that "Nav isn't the only Brown boy to get it popping" (Complex, 2017).

Other mechanisms which influence the temporary state during which participants were sensitive to information related to the BSA identity included 'ethnic

composition' in relation to social experiences, consumption and social environments and the generation in which one resides in. These findings are explored in sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.3.1.2.

5.3.1.1: Ethnic compositions: social experiences, social environments and consumption

After arranging and integrating the dialogue from Phase I, it was revealed that participant's ethnic compositions impact their consumption of advertising. FGP7 talks about how his own social experiences influenced his perceptions:

> "It's funny because I would say my own ability to play or even go to football isn't really rested on what these adverts say or do… I go out drinking with my mates… So for me personally, it's all about having that feeling of being a part of the group. I don't know how to explain it, but for me I do understand the problem with not having many Asians, but that's only a problem for those who let it be a problem for them" (FGP7).

Evidently, FGP7's 'feeling of being part of a group' influenced his interpretations. Although acknowledging its existence, FGP7 notes how the non-representations of BSAs in both football advertisements had little impact on his appraisals of wider customs. This was framed by the participant's individualised level of 'belonging' which thus, influenced his interpretations (Schroeder & Borgerson, 2005). In other words, by experiencing felt-belonging within wider socio-cultural systems, FGP7's interpretations thus reflected his experiences, and as a result, surpass whatever messages, images or other identity manifestations are excluded.

On the contrary, when one has negative experiences in society, their level of ESA and thus interpretations of exclusions is heightened. FGP6 highlights this phenomenon:

> "I've been called a Paki when it was in a supermarket because I accidently cut in the way of 2 guys who were drunk when at the tills…So I can say I'm definitely more attached to Asians more than English people because of things like that… Even in these ads the first thing I was looking for was any Asians,

> or if they were Asians, how they're presented because they're never given the normal roles like everyone else" (FGP6).

When one feels attacked and subsequently 'detached' from the mainstream, their 'self-concepts' increase within socially-influence spaces (Belk & Pollay, 1985). In these situations, one's ethnic identity thus becomes salient and as a result draws intense appraisals of ethnic primes in advertising as experienced by FGP6. The conception that the first thing FGP6 notices in any media representation is whether fellow in-group members are included, in addition to identifying the narrative in which they are included, highlights ideological formalities, many of which are not 'normal roles like everyone else'.

One's social environment was also a mechanism which influenced ESA. FGP27 talks about how his adolescence was spent in 'White' neighbourhoods:

> "To me I don't really see the fact that because there's no Asians in any of the football adverts it means we're not wanted or anything… When I was a kid back in the early 90s we moved from a predominately Asian neighbourhood to a place where it was mainly White, more middle and upper class people… When we would go to the park it would be exactly like how it is in the Nike advert, and when we would go to the Rugby down the road from where we lived it would be like the Barclays advert" (FGP27).

Clearly, FGP27's social environment had a direct influence on his low levels of ESA. The fact that he and his family moved to a majority 'White' neighbourhood meant it his interpretations and acknowledgement of ethnic primes was thus limited. For FGP27, the exclusion of ethnic primes in the football-related advertising was not a direct reflection of BSA football dynamics and dynamisms as he 'felt' included in sports such as Rugby – a cultural space known to attract far fewer BAME communities, compared to football (PremiershipRugby, 2014).

5.3.1.2: Generation

One's recognition of an ethnic prime was also determined by the generation in which they resided in. Although the research was dominated heavily by third-generation BSAs, there were some first and second-generation participants. FGP25 expressed high levels of ESA. The below researcher-participant dialogue reveals how FGP25 used the ethnic and cultural primes in the cricket advertisement to link his very own socio-cultural experiences:

> **FGP25**: "You can say I'm more of an old school person in my thinking because I'm not as young as these guys here. For me I've seen a lot of things throughout my lifetime and all cricket is obviously important to me because I grew up with it and everyone around me before we came here was the same. All the good memories was playing cricket whereas when we came here, even though we tended to talk about football, a lot of bad memories came with it… It's nothing like it was before when we would all be together playing in groups. It was literally Asians sticking together. Not like it is now. Not to say it's bad or anything growing up now, but back then you literally stuck to the things you were good at, and I would say because of everything that was going on in football at the time, we weren't allowed to get involved in teams".
>
> **Researcher**: So your own experiences and the fact that you are older than everyone else are reflected in how you see these adverts?
>
> **FGP25**: "Definitely. It's not alien to say we're included in cricket and excluded in football".

FGP25's views support Khan et al's (2015) claim that recognition of ethnic and cultural primes tend to manifest in older generations, insofar these groups of people have grown up in a different social environment, thus are likely to be dependent on different social diets. Subsequently, the identities displayed in advertising are, as FGP25 suggests, an extension of his very own homeland. This was assessed through the 'good' and 'bad' memories associated to sport engagement, especially when one was 'known' to offer inclusionary values (cricket), whereas the other (football) maintained exclusionary status.

5.3.2: Religious and cultural affiliations

The religious and cultural identities of BSAs tend to be predicated on distinct 'systems', each of which have different contrasting egalitarian operations (Veer, 2002). Thus, a key phenomenon which was raised amongst participant disources was the extent to which one's religion and culture impacts perceptions and interpretations of advertising. This was clearly evident in the FGP5's preference of advertising:

> "The football ones are probably better for me anyway even though I like and watch cricket. Because me being a Muslim, I don't drink or anything like that so the beer advert with the guys promoting beer isn't for me personally. Being a Muslim, you shouldn't really endorse those sorts of things. We're quite strict… It's just like me not wanting to go out with guys to the pub when they're going to drink and get pissed because that's not my cup of tea. I'd rather do something else you see… But you look at that advert [Strongbow], and you can see that it's more of a cultural thing now with a lot of Asians. They all want to follow the trend and not follow religion. Like some guys I know from football will like the advert because they drink, and it actually might get them into cricket because of all the drinking" (FGP5).

Clearly, the above participant derives his position on advertising representations through his Muslim faith, but also acknowledges how sporting cultures effect consumption patterns. By 'following the trend', the participant suggests that many BSAs are buying into idealised alcohol consumptions. Culture of residence, culture of homelands and religion thus become interconnected in a mesh of habit and indifference.

Other participants who were of the Sikh faith in Phase I, glorified the cultural habits on being 'Punjabi', a cultural manifestation which often imparts the duality of Sikh identities. The following testimony by FGP10 thus glorifies the cultural habits of Punjabis in regards to their interpretations of advertising and in intense consumption of alcohol:

> "You just know that they put an Asian in the cricket ad because of the fact that they know we drink like horses. It's in the Punjabi culture… So it's pretty clever for them to have Asians drinking. I mean just go to our weddings or

> parties. There's drink everywhere to the point where those who don't drink are sometimes taken the piss out of. Well those who aren't really religious anyway. So for me being someone who is into the Punjabi culture, just having us represented in those ads is good for me. Like I see cricket as being about going to a match with friends and family and having a good time. Like I couldn't take my dad to the football and have a drink just in case something happens, but in cricket you can do that. It's a different culture" (FGP10).

This is a clear example of how the duality of cultural experiences manifests in advertising (Kipnis et al, 2013). There are three points of significance worth noting from the two above participant testimonies. Firstly, one's faith has an influence on perceptions and interpretations – FGP5 explicates how being a Muslim (alcohol consumption is forbidden), one cannot 'endorse' and promote its use, thus the FGP5's level of representational consonance is limited even though there were primes which represent the self present. Secondly, the cultural norms of Punjabis (oftentimes mistaken as a representation of Sikhs Chawla, 2018) has a rich history in alcohol consumption, hence the Strongbow advertisement (for FGP10) proved to be a representation of inclusion. Note how FGP10 posits normalised festivities within 'Punjabi cultures' as a prerequisite to perceptions of advertising. The fact that the participant derives its influence on strategy: 'it's pretty clever for them to have Asians drinking' demonstrates an understanding of cultural habits and actual lived realities, the opposite of the claim that advertising agencies are 'morally myopic' when it comes to understanding the complexities of identity (Drumright & Wright, 2004:7). Third is the comparison of sport cultures – not only does one's duality of culture and religion have an effect on perceptions, they are simultaneously influenced by the culture of particular sports. FGP5 identifies the fact that many of his fellow football enthusiasts will be persuaded to engage in cricket activities because of the known alcohol consumption patterns involved, whereas FGP10 takes a more dynamic stance, referring to the culture of football and cricket and thus the heightened levels of alcohol consumption preferred at both sets of stadia.

Even within the advertising representations realm, Kilvington's (2016) 'community of communities' conception is apparent. FGP30 provides perhaps the clearest distinction of such notion in that he stipulates the differences representations have on each religion:

> "There's definitely something to look at when it comes down to what religion you are. I don't really speak for everyone but I know that Muslims don't drink or associate with drinking alcohol. One of my best friends is Muslim and he doesn't like it… But I do drink so I can relate more to that ad…. It's not as simple as saying all Asians will like that ad because there's an Asian involved… In some cases people might even think that the ad is too westernised. You know… using cricket to promote alcohol. Some Asian communities I know for a fact won't like that" (FGP30).

FGP30's dialogue provides a distinct overview of how the 'community of communities' conception operates in consumption discourse. This supports Jamal (2001) and Demangeot et al (2015) who sugest that action in today's multicultural marketplace is complex and multifaceted as there are dual and multiple identities present, insofar, society now includes individuals from diverse groups including those that share similar beliefs, behaviours, objects etc. but are surrounded by different distinguishable social identity aspects such as religion (Kipnis et al, 2013). Subsequently, FGP30 clearly identifies a consumption difference between particular BSA communities. This dynamic is explored within the following three participant discourses:

> "The thing is with us being different religions and places where we're from, like being Indian or Pakistani, you can't really gauge which kinds of people are going to like the ads. Like I know religion may come into it as well. I'm a Hindu and I know some of us are scared to be in groups who are different to us" (FGP26).

> "For me personally I don't think my religion has much to do with my perspective of the ads but I know just looking at the cricket ad where you're basically promoting a beer, some baptised Sikhs and many of the Muslims will not like it because of that" (FGP16).

> "I think we need to think about the culture of the sports and the culture of us as Asians. It's tough because you can't really satisfy all the Asians with these ads. You have Hindu and Sikh Punjabis, Muslim Indians and so on. So it's obviously a really tough thing to try and get all the Asians liking the ads. Some are different in terms of how religious they are. Like I'm a Sikh who is quite religious, but I drink also, so the cricket ad and what happens in football

through these actual ads is just another way for me to actually sort of express myself" (FGP25).

As the three participant testimonies illustrate, there is a definitive call to evaluate BSA communities and their interpretations of advertising as individualistic categories, rather than as one combined hegemonic group. As suggested by FGP24, who is a Christian Punjabi, the 'BSA' categorisation in reality, comprises of many different identities. You thus have BSA Hindu, Muslim and Sikh Punjabis, BSA Christians, bi-racial BSAs etc. Subsequently, the 'community of communities' concept needs to also be transitioned into consumption discourse, as with any process of action and intent, advertisers need to consider the idiosyncratic nature of community identities and their relations to cultural consumption (Kipnis et al, 2013). These strategies are labelled as 'socialising agents' (Cross et al, 2017), 'socio-cultural transformations' (Olsen & Gould, 2008) or 'cultural profilerations' (Jafari & Goulding, 2013).

Section 5.3.3 identifies how advertising representations are influenced by a unique BSA parental dynamic.

5.3.3: *'mum versus dad'*

"In the case of young players, it isn't the player. It also isn't the father because, generally, he only wants to live vicariously through his son. The decision-maker is the mother. The mother wants to know what's going to be best for her child. After that experience, I always told scouts to concentrate on the mothers" (Ferguson, 2016:253).

The level of advertising influence to BSA football inclusion/exclusion roles also transitioned across parental dynamics. In essence, BSA mothers (from the perspective of both the male and female participants) are readily categorised as the decision-makers within family households, especially when it comes to choosing what activities and pastimes their children are allowed to participate and engage in. This dynamic was recognised by FGP12:

> "I think it will be interesting to see what the mums think about these, because they're the decision makers aren't they in the family when it comes to stuff like this for their kids. Not like how it was before… I understand that we're not represented and all that, but I as a dad myself is more influenced not by these but by more long-term sustainability when it comes to looking at football progression for my kid. I want him to go further in his education personally because I know only like 0.01% of players actually make it at the top level" (FGP12).

As FGP12 points out: 'being interesting to see what the mums think about these' as 'they're the decision-makers' is a clear example of how active mothers are in contemporary BSA socio-cultural structures. By issuing such proclamation, FGP12 believes the cultural manifestations portrayed in the advertisements impacts mothers more than fathers, thus according to participant appraisals, football inclusion for young BSAs rests on mother's interpretations, whereas his own reluctance to allow his child to engage and participate in football is based on traditional facets (i.e. commitment to education). This finding it critical as it justifies the socio-cultural relationship between social relations and advertising consumption: (i) the perceived influence of BSA non-representations on mothers over fathers, and (ii) traditionalist cultural conceptions such as education over football still has an impact to football inclusion (self-segregation over forced-segregation).

FGP6, a mother, talks about her intepretations and how they justify the choice of sport for their children:

> "I have to say I'm a mum and I'm definitely annoyed by these adverts… No wonder my husband wants our kids to go into boxing and MMA. I don't think he would be too fussed about these ads not showing an Asian, but I am. Probably more about us mums being more worried than the dads because we want the best for them… I definitely think it's an Asian thing. I mean even after this I wouldn't mind putting him into cricket. At first I was a bit hesitant of him allowing our boy to go for combat sports where you can get hurt, but it teaches you discipline and how to act around others. But even in boxing you have other Asians we can look at and say 'look he's made it and nothing has happened to him', but in football you can't say that and these ads only give the impression that we're definitely excluded. The only reason I actually allowed our son to go into MMA and boxing was because Amir Khan's boxing so I had that sort of comfort there" (FGP6).

Likewise, the following participant discourse notes how the 'mother's instinct' manifests itself when community portrayals are not represented:

> "It's like a mother's instinct to pick out these things in everything. We always want our kids to be safe in around people. And more often than not you're more comfortable with people who are like you. I would say that's a massive thing [that BSAs are not represented]" (FGP17).

As both participants highlight, BSA mothers are evidently more attentive to subtleties identified in advertising than BSA fathers. For FGP6 in particular, non-representations of BSAs confirmed her suspicions regarding BSA exclusions in football, in addition to reinforcing her husband's choice when it came to preferring their son to participate in MMA rather than engage in football. When it comes to explaining his in-group phenomenon, FGP18 discusses his how mother's consumption patterns were influenced by same-ethnicity representations:

> "Things that are on TV. Like when there's an Indian on TV or something like Eastenders… But H n M now have 3 Sikh guys modelling for their men's clothing line which is good. You should see them, you know proper Sikh guys with their turbans and beards. Really good… Literally when we went into town the next weekend my mum wanted to buy my brother something from there. She never shopped there before in her life" (FGP18).

The three above participant discourses explain the influence of same-ethnicity representations (Grier et al, 2017). The three abovementioned participant discourses highlight the influence of same-ethnicity representations. As analysed in this section, BSA mothers are more inclined to develop inclusion/exclusion relations by what they see in certain advertisements. Note how participant voices prioritise BSA representational inclusion/exclusion to acceptance/rejection – decision to prioritise combat sports over engaging in football was reinforced by the non-representations of BSAs in the football-related advertisements (FGP6), whilst decisions to purchase products from a fashion brand was fuelled by the inclusion of people of South-Asian heritage (ethnicity of actors inconclusive) (FGP18).

As highlighted by Cross et al (2017), having an actor or spokesperson to associate with in advertising encourages support, whilst simultaneously helps reduce any anxieties or apprehensions one may have of inclusive dynamisms. This was exampled in FGP6's account whereby having prominent boxing star Amir Khan as an in-group member suggests inclusion in boxing (Burdsey, 2007b), whereas few BSAs have managed to infiltrate the football space, thus parents are having to rely on external mediums (i.e. advertising) to inform decisions.

Section 5.3.3 has identified the dynamic of parental roles having a significant impact on the level of influence advertising representations have on inclusion and exclusion. Although such characteristics may indeed by trans-cultural (effecting other ethnic/racial groups), this form of influence is drawn from the fact that it's 'definitely an Asian thing' – a post-integrationist psyche which still inherits traditional South-Asian cultural customs.

Section 5.3.4 analyses advertising influence to BSA football inclusion/exclusion through the dynamic of one's understanding and lived-experiences of football.

5.3.4: *'Understanding'* of football space

A fourth factor which presented itself within participant discourses was the level of 'understanding' or 'experience' one has of the football space itself. A dynamic which has two variants: (i) those who had little, to no experience of football were inclined to be more influenced by advertising representations, whereas (ii) those who had immediate, first-hand contact were more inclined to bypass the non-representations of BSAs. This dynamic is prevalent in the following testimony, whereby the 'lack' of football knowledge enhanced the influence of the advertisements:

> "I don't really know much about football so for me these are a massive influence to my so-called football knowledge, especially when it comes to my son being allowed to go play football. They obviously don't want us to be a part of football if you go by what these are showing. So from my point of view, it will definitely affect my future thoughts about football… But then again, it doesn't really surprise me that we're not in the ads as we know

> there's a massive racial divide anyway going on in football itself. This just makes it easier to show people that there is this divide now" (FGP7).

FGP7 amplifies the extent to which one's 'so-called football knowledge' can be influenced by external points of reference – in this context, the non-representations of BSAs in football-related advertisements acts as a reference point (or marker of difference) to their community exclusions. It also stipulated the fact that for FGP7, such exclusions inform long-term community football-relations, so much so, the representations reinforce the 'perceived' racio-cultural divide which currently exists in football. Similarly, the FGP18 embeds his depictions of football reality through what the advertising portray as he has little prior experiences with the environment:

> "I'm probably one of a few guys who don't really follow much sport. Just racing sports like F1 and motocross, so for me I don't get to see how the actual football environment is made up, in terms of who plays and who doesn't play… Like I can't say if these are a reality or not, but I have to go by my senses, and obviously sight is one of our main ways to get information and for me I would definitely say by what I've seen in these ads, you can say Indians [Asians] are not seen as good enough footballers, but they are good enough cricketers… Also if you look at all the news around football now which comes up it's all about discrimination minority people. Put 2 and 2 together, I'd definitely say football isn't the place for us and that we are and have been excluded ever since we came here" (FGP18).

'Sight-informing-self' is the key point which manifests from this participant's perceptions. In an image-centric society (Pollay, 1986; Saren et al, 2019), we are relying more and more on image representations to inform our pastimes, hobbies, passions and forms of entertainment. For this participant, his lack of football knowledge, experience and understanding has a deciding effect on the level of inclusion of BSA groups and communities, in that without sufficient knowledge of 'who plays and who doesn't play', the participant admits he references such representations as 'reality' – concluding who (i.e. people, groups and communities) is 'perceived' to be included and who is 'perceived' to be excluded. Therefore, the inclusion/exclusion dynamic in this context relies on one's habitual processes and

experiences which determine the levels of acceptance or rejection, with the participant's view stating that BSAs naturally fit within the latter when it comes to football, but the former when it comes to cricket.

In contrast, those participants who engage in football frequently were less influenced by the non-representations of in-group members, thus one's lived experience outweighed what the representations portrayed. FGP28 and FGP13 highlight this phenomenon:

> "For me personally, because I coach for GNP at the kid's level – grassroots side, and sometimes go to matches when I know these are not the exact representation of what happens on the grassroots level. It's definitely more multicultural than before… Like with the Nike advert where there's loads of kids playing with all the international footballers, when you go to parks or places like Goals, they're full of young Asian kids playing. So if you ask me if I think these represent reality I have to say no because I know what the reality is like in and around Coventry. I'm not saying it's the same everywhere around the UK but you do get a few Asian kids playing all sorts of sports, and football is one of the most popular at that age" (FGP28).

> "It's a tough one for me because I know that there are a fair few Asians playing football at Sunday and Saturday league… But that's one thing because they're not getting picked at the bigger teams, which is another thing altogether… But if you just go by what these are trying to demonstrate, I'd say they're wrong because I play football with 9 other Asians – 10 of us on a weekly basis at a centre in Kenilworth. Literally the guys before us are all Indians and the guys who play after us are all Pakistani and Bengali I think. So unless you actually see these things and see us playing to someone who doesn't know, they'll definitely think that not many Asians play football or go to matches and stuff… On one hand the they're wrong, but on the other I think they right because of the professional side of football and not having no Asians when we all know they're good enough to be playing professionally" (FGP13).

The above two participant testimonies accentuate the fact that first-hand contact with football – from two different perspectives (FGP28 is a recreational coach at a community football club with the other being a recreational player) has a significant influence on their perceptions to non-BSAs being in the football-related

advertisements. By FGP28 and FGP13 having a vivid understanding of football dynamics and dynamisms, they have the ability to analyse each advertising representation in a critical way (as both an in-group member and football enthusiasts) which combines racial, cultural and social exclusions of BSAs into abject formulations of misinterpretations of reality seen regularly in football.

FGP28 testimony points out two distinct features which suggest BSA inclusion is rampant: (i) by coaching at a faith-based (mainly BSA-Sikhs) recreational football club, he is fortunate enough to gain a birds-eye view of the people, groups and communities engaging at youth level – an occurrence which he admits is 'more multicultural than before', in addition to claiming that (ii) a leisure centre he knows well is 'full of young Asian kids playing', thus explicating the deceptive nature of advertising representations in the mainstream. Likewise, FGP13's discourse refers to the representations as 'wrong', as his lived-experiences of playing the game has saw him recognise fellow BSAs playing before, during and after his sessions.

As proliferated in both dynamics, the simplicity in which levels of understanding and lived experiences influences levels of representational reality demonstrates the bi-lateral perceptions of BSA participants. This is a critical development when reflected in the context of contemporary social trends in identity politics of young BSAs where the 'self' and football are known to have conflicting, often-racialised processes. Even though levels of football understanding influences levels of advertising interpretation, the emergence of racialised performance existed through all participant discourses showcases how advertising representations are inextricably linked to wider socio-cultural processes and racial divides in football.

Section 5.3 has presented four key socio-cultural and ethno-religious factors which influence how BSAs perceived the advertisements. In essence, there is a complexity in acknowledging perceptions which are embedded in how one perceives themselves, in addition to their individualised social environments. Representations thus are found to have different consequences in evaluating BSA football inclusion/exclusion for various different BSA individuals.

Section 5.4 explores findings in relation to the key influential factors to BSA football recruitment processs.

5.4: Advertising representations and influential factors to recruitment

The above section identified four separate BSA-specific socio-cultural and ethno-religious factors which are central to understanding what factors influence interpretation. Section 5.4 analyses participant discourses in relation to how advertising propagate meaning, obligation and choice when it comes to recruitment formalities in football. Table 21 (page 250) reproduced below offers a brief explanation of the five key factors which have influence to football-specific recruitment drivers.

Category	Advertising and football – significance to BSA football inclusion/exclusion
5.4.1: No Role Models, No Representation	1. Cycle of misinformation – because a lack of visible (well-known) BSA footballers, their non-representations in football-related advertising is inevitable – advertising executives need a reference point to justify inclusion (**reliance on football field**)
5.4.2: *Just do it*: commercial advantages of having a BSA representative	1. Number of commercial benefits of having a BSA in advertisements for football – social inclusion, increase in economic & commercial activity for clubs and brands
5.4.3: Reinforcing cultural stereotypes	1. Representations reinforce BSA sport-culture stereotypes – stick sports over contact (masculine) sports 2. Difficulty in 'severing' ties if everyday representations (advertising) re-appropriate 'normalised' stances – 'ethno-cultural education' through advertising representations 3. Because stereotyping is so ingrained in the habitual processes of sport inclusion and exclusion, they are inevitably an ever-present feature in both sport culture and advertising culture – reflecting 'reality' is the goal of many sport advertising
5.4.4: Outcome of not being a football community: *all seems well and good to me*	1. Non-BSA participants embarked on a story-telling process whereby each advertisement represented a clear and accountable picture of how cricket and football is valued to the consumer 2. Failed to discern any ethnic exclusions/inclusions 3. One facet of identity was discussed – gender (females in advertisements) – clear illustration of inclusion for females in contemporary English football
5.4.5: Gatekeeper obligation, preference & reference	1. Illustration of how influential advertising non-representations are to football gatekeepers – an additional driver (reference point) to BSA football exclusion 2. Without BSA inclusion, the psyche which evolves around normalised perceptions and habits will continue, thus BSA will still be excluded

Table 21: Key factors in advertising which influence BSA football recrtuiment

5.4.1: No role models, no representation

Inclusive representations in advertising has a direct relation to culture, identity, social movement and inter-community understanding (Grier et al, 2017). It reverberates in the way we speak, our dress styles, attitude, learning behaviours, beliefs, values, norms and pastimes. However, participants declared that what was missing within this general assertion is the fact that including certain sects of people in advertising can be entirely dependent on the characters that are typically 'seen' in 'reality', or in the case of football, the reliance on on-field players:

> "We can't expect these sorts of advertisements to include us if we haven't got any players actually playing at the professional levels. That's the issue when it comes to stuff like this" (FGP10).

> "The only way we'll see Indians in these adverts is if we get someone playing at one of these big clubs who can be sponsored" (FGP2).

> "The reality is that we are informed by what we see and if there's no Asians playing, we can't really expect them to be in these style adverts" (FGP22).

In this respect, players are not merely characters who people look up to for inspiration and motivation, they are also figureheads for advertising agencies to reference. Assigning such value to representations in this way details the connection between football and the conceived (i.e. ideological) thought processes, and how being able to physically see a player playing may in fact influence an agencies choice to include certain people, communities and/or identities. Both FGP26 and FGP18, there is the feeling that advertising agencies are over-reliant on the realities that occur on the field, hence strategy reflects action and/or inaction:

> "Obviously those who are creating these advertisements have to get their strategy or concept from somewhere. They don't just think about it off the top of their head. They must look at the football fields around the country and say 'oh look these guys are the one's playing football, let's get these guys involved in our adverts'. I would take a guess it works like that. That would be the common sense way of doing things anyway" (FGP26).

> "You can't really blame them because they probably don't have a clue we play football. They just see what's on TV probably and just go from there. I mean if I was in the same position I would probably do the same. It's like in the Barclays one they're saying that's what a typical fan should like look" (FGP18).

As suggested by the two participants, advertising agencies are not attuned to seeing BSAs playing at the elite levels in football, hence their inclusion in football-related advertising is non-existent. The over-reliance on populist notions of 'sight informing strategy' (Lenior et al, 2013) suggests without a prominent BSA playing professionally, their involvement in advertisements will nonetheless be always be limited. The 'cultural production' (Bourdieu, 1992) of choice for advertising agencies is to include people they are familiar with stems from those who are 'perceived' to actively consume football. Hence, the inclusion of mainly 'White' fans in the Barclays advertisement signifies the match-day commodification of what a typical 'fan' looks like, and the inclusion of Black and White players in the Nike advertisement operationalises Black/White participation, over Black/White/Brown participation. This phenomenon is reflected by FGP28:

> "We still have these pictures in our minds of what a football player or even fan is like… We know times have changed, but it's ingrained in us isn't it. If you were to ask me to draw me your typical football fan, I would either draw a group of hooligans kicking off or draw an old man walking to a match… You can ask 100 guys, they'd all probably think of the same thing. I guarantee you hardly anyone will talk about an Asian guy" (FGP28).

For Bourdieu (1992:167), "the principle obstacle to a rigorous science of the production of the value of cultural goods is the charismatic ideology of 'creation' which can be found in forms of social representations". Therefore, according to both participants, the social representations displayed within the advertisements are 'created' from 'real' football experiences. This framed perspective, in his view, "directs the gaze towards apparent producer and prevents us from asking who has

created this ‘creator’ and the magic power of transubstantiation with which the ‘creator’ is endowed” (Bourdieu, 1992:167).

One facet to unpick is the nature in which biases and stereotypes are often promoted (often implicitly) within media representations (Ramasubramanian & Murphy, 2014). It is natural for humans to inherit and transmit certain ideological ‘arrangements’ which can be stereotypical or formulaic (Entman, 1993). This was of great concern for many of the BSA participants within this study. FGP14 identified that the cultural production of representations can also be substantiated through judgemental and prejudicial lenses:

> “These advertising agencies or people who develop these advertisements need to be made aware of their prejudice. Ok, I’m not saying that they all have prejudices, but we as humans all have certain prejudices against people. Anyone who tells me differently is lying… Like when you see a young guy in a hoody at night you sort of think there’s going to be trouble so you cross the road or do what you have to do. I guess they have the same feelings about us and the capacity we have to play football. I definitely think that’s got something to do with it” (FGP14).

For FGP14, dismissing BSA models and spokespersons in both football-related advertisements is a re-appropriation of privilege. She endorses Cross et al’s (2017) claim that biases and advertising go hand-in-hand. It is human nature to be socially constructed through the environment in which one resides in (Peterson, 2018). Her inferences of a hoody being associated with danger explicates bias in action, thus from her perspective those developing and enacting advertisements must also have particular biases which inform representational actions. The prominence of this existence is highlighted in the Strongbow advertisement which uses cricket as the a ‘corporate marketing tool’:

> “You know advertisers are using their biases because why would you have an Asian in the cricket ad? Obviously because they instinctively link cricket to Asians, so they had to put one in to make it seem more effective… It’s like if they didn’t have an Asian in there I bet you 1 of the managers would’ve said ‘why isn’t there an Asian? They’re the ones who play cricket’” (FGP21).

Granting the involvement of bias is important to proceedings, the real judgement here illustrates how advertisers identify closely to social space actualities. Because the cricket field is replete with BSA representation, it would be 'foolish' to dismiss them – the close relationship of South-Asian heritage people to cricket is effectively embedded in British psyche (McGuire et al, 2001; Goldblatt, 2014), thus contours of 'social supply and demand' exist in the mainstream. Privileging what is good for the mainstream collective can, in turn, deny BSAs the freedom to pursue other sports as their identity is automatically coupled to cricket over football. Such habitual relationship building further reinforces cultural stereotypes, thus the call that advertising agencies, and the guidelines that influence them, are 'morally myopic' (Drumright & Wright, 2004:7) in relation to the socio-cultural impact of their representations reins true within FGP21's testimomy.

For advertisements which do not want to alienate, a lack of knowledge and assumptions about culture and lifestyle of minority groups often result in misconceptions (Deshpande et al, 1986). In 2017, Meera Syal – one of the writers and stars of popular national television programme Goodness Gracious Me, commented that representations of BSA communities on television have 'gone backwards' (Khan, 2017). One of the reasons she claimed was a general lack of in-group representation at broadcasting agencies. FGP10 reflected such a stance when it came to evaluating the process of including the BSA identity in advertisements:

> "If you look at these two Nike and Barclays adverts, how many of them was actually created by Asians? Or how many Asians were in the team who were brainstorming ideas? That's definitely another issue which is why there are no Asians in the ads… So for me personally, I can see why no Asians are included. 1 – They're not seen to be playing, but also 2 – there's probably no Asians in the [advertising agency] team. That has to account for something don't you think?" (FGP10).

Framing through direct association is one way to improve inter-community relations displayed in advertising representations (Golash-Boza, 2016). What this participant

highlights is a perception that those creating and strategising advertisements fail to reflect Britain's multicultural population. This of course is of great concern because without a diverse panel to filter ideas, there is an over-reliance on incorporating self-induced biases and stereotypes in spaces where multiculturalism prospers.

A ThinkTank governed by CampaignLive (2014) discovered that there are only 13% of BAME advertising staff working in London-based agencies. This statistic is fundamental as the changing landscape of multicultural Britain only underlies the need for agencies to mirror it more accurately. This provides two dimensions upon which to assess why a lack of BSA equals football-related representational exclusion: one is the in-group cultural and co-religionist understanding of BSA identity dynamics which is entwined with the multitude and miniscule happenings that we know are shifting to meet mainstream demands. If a BSA member was to be within the inner-working of advertising strategy they would be able to supply the group with a 'different' and 'diverse' perspectives. The second is proportionate to consumer reactions whereby perpetuating certain images further marginalises a particular community. The connection between these dimensions lies in the different ways football is constructed and consumed on a daily basis in order to assert a sense of inclusion, belonging and authority within the patterns of people's everyday lives where commercial opulence underlies strategy and design.

The next subsection analyses participants' insights into the commercial and perceived advantages of having a BSA professional break through onto the elite stage.

5.4.2: *Just do it*: commercial advantages of having a BSA representative

> [D]oes anyone believe that they [football clubs], along with every other club in the land, haven't considered the impact a twenty-goal-a-season, British-born Asian striker would have on their balance sheets? Are the anti-racists so arrogant that they continue to believe that clubs located in the middle of predominantly Asian communities, such as Bradford, Leicester and L*t*n [Luton], haven't even thought about the commercial possibilities a locally born player would provide? (Brimson, 2006:180).

As declared in the section 2.5.6, it is not remiss to state English football is now a multi-billion pound industry (Deloitte, 2018). To continue to improve business, clubs are constantly reframing their delivery between consumers, product and income (Beech & Chadwick, 2007). As explicated by participants, one strategy used by many clubs is 'player commercialisation' – the use of a player to sell merchandise (Beech & Chadwick, 2007). Sport consumer psychologists have long claimed people who are intrinsically associated to a player (through race, nation, region, gender, language, caste, religion, idol etc.) are more likely to make a purchase, in addition to following their career progression and social happenings (Funk et al, 2016). For this reason alone, IP1 felt it was illogical to not want to pursue BSAs when it came to marketing their talent:

> "Even if you look at selling shirts abroad back in India and Pakistan or whatever. You'd have so many people who don't even support the club buying a shirt… There's what, around 1 billion plus people living back home. They would be an advertisers dream" (IP1).

IP2 uses the example of Amir Khan (British-born professional boxer) being able to use his homeland affiliations to sell out stadiums for his visits:

> "I would definitely say they would get so much publicity from linking with a British Asian player. Here, back home. It would be crazy. Just look at Amir Khan when he goes back to Pakistan – he sells out stadiums just to make an appearance for his charity. He's a boxer. Imagine a footballer. It would

> literally be mayhem if they had an Asian player playing for the bigger clubs. I'd even go and say it would be good for the smaller clubs too" (IP2).

As explicated by IP1 and IP2, not only would it be commercially beneficial for the BSA community, there seems to be an appreciation of the monetary benefits a club could endure from the South-Asian continent. BSAs offer a unique opportunity – they are ethno-culturally affiliated to a subcontinent which has 1.89 billion people living in it, henceforth the value they would bring although unquantifiable, would be enormous. The latter participant equates this to how Amir Khan has popularised himself to Pakistan, even though he resides in Bolton and his training camps are in the US. The case of Park Ji Sung at Manchester United reigns similar. Though declarations from the club was that he was signed for his football credentials, without doubt, it had a massive impact on their commercial activities in South Korea. As reported by Harris (2011), just over a million Koreans had (at the time) a 'United-branded' credit or debit card, many of which show Park's face. Audited data shows that 40 million South Koreans in total watch Manchester United matches on TV each season, or roughly one million followers per match. Moreover, the club have a Korean language website that attracts four million users annually, with the platform seen as hugely important to some of the club's biggest sponsors and partners to deliver their pitches in a language and dialect that works locally. However, comparing BSA to South Koreans can be inaccurate as cultural sensitivities and pastimes are inherently different, but what it does do it offer a birds-eye view of the advantages of recruiting a player with specific ethno-cultural audiences.

For BSAs specifically though, the multifaceted and complex nature of their identity in modern times evades simple 'supply and demand', inasmuch, their identity markers tend to be unequivocally associated to negative rhetoric. This is declared in the FGP14's discourse:

> "I know Asians aren't really the best people to be commercialised because of the meaning some of the names have to English people but just imagine how good it would be to see a Singh or Kaur or Ali on the back of a shirt… The amount of sales that would generate for clubs would be crazy. I know I would be buying one just for support of the cause… Think about the barriers it would break too. People won't be scared of the names Ali like they are now. I know

> it's harsh to say but it's true. It would just open so many doors for us, not just in football but also in society as well. It would be brilliant" (FGP14).

In accordance with the commercialisation of players, this participant identifies two key processes of identity and commercial value. First, having a vivid identity marker (i.e. name) accentuates populism and support. Since 9/11, names such as Singh, Ali, Khan and Mohammed have been, according to the participant, an industrialised marker for violence and oppression, and showing support suggests support for outsider ideals. Second, many in-group members would 'support the cause'; offering not only their money, but also long-term socio-racial endorsements as seen in fan support of Mohammed Salah (page 210). The fact that FGP14 identifies that it 'would just open so many doors for us, not just in football but in society as well' highlights the advantages to wider socio-cultural dynamics and dynamisms. The influence of football to social relations is clearly evident in the FGP14's proclamation (i.e. Mohammed Salah song on page 210), thus positive associations would go beyond mere support of a player to abject subcultures in Britain (Stone, 2007). In this respect having a noteworthy BSA to identify with educates, stimulates and informs.

Section 5.4.3 analyses participants discourse surrounding advertising reinforcing cultural stereotypes.

5.4.3: Reinforcing cultural stereotypes

One key factor which presented itself from participant discourses was the fact that advertising representations reinforce culturally-defined sporting stereotypes. By portraying community relations through a stereotypical lens, they not only (i) emphasise in-group, non-football associations, but also (ii) act as key reference points for out-group members. A manifestation which was acknowledged by the vast majority of participants was the fact that there were two people of South-Asian heritage included within the cricket-related advertisement. FGP21 explains how such representations reinforce the stereotype that BSAs are habitually connected to cricket:

> "They just reinforce the stereotypes we're used to hearing about us when it comes to playing sport. I know the main one is that we don't like playing football because our heart and culture is in cricket, but that's obviously all changed now... Well for us it's changed, but it seems like for these ads it hasn't. So again, we can see how these ads actually promote further stereotyping of us as a whole community" (FGP21).

As FGP21 claims, the notion that people of South-Asian heritage being culturally linked to cricket (Fletcher & Walle, 2013) is reinforced through advertising representations, even though the community are actively trying to severe such associations. Because facets of stereotypes are so ingrained within the habitual processes of BSA sport dynamics and dynamisms, the participant suggests that they are inevitably an ever-present feature in both sport culture and advertising culture. Importantly, the participant's testimony also includes the conception that advertising has failed to reflect the changing processes of the community, inasmuch, they are still inclined to stereotype BSAs on 'old' identity displays, rather than identify their changing bi-cultural habits of BSA communities who embed notions of integration and hybridity as per section 4.2.1.

Although there is the belief amongst participants that although in-group sporting habits have evolved to include sports other than cricket (i.e. football, golf, boxing and MMA), such portrayals suggest the contrary, hence the westernised observation that BSAs are static and unwilling to engage in British norms (i.e. football) is further enhanced through the advertising representations. The following participant identifies how advertising representations inform and educate those who have limited contact with BSAs:

> "You can't have an Asian in the cricket advert and say you're not being stereotypical. I mean come on… The proof is in the pudding. You have people out there who have no idea what we're like or what we like to do in our lives. No doubt they will see these and think about it as a way of getting information on us if you know what I mean… It's like being outright stereotypical but in a manner which is subtle but hits a large audience… When you think about it, it's actually really bad how much these adverts stereotype us" (FGP23).

In line with FGP23's testimony, FGP13 provides first-hand experiences related to advertising's 'unintended consequences' (Johnson & Grier, 2013). In other words, by reproducing sporting stereotypes defined by culture, representations implicitly educate consumers of the sporting credentials of BSA people, groups and communities:

> "I'm not really one to fluff at these kinds of things, but they do reproduce the stereotypes we're trying to get rid of. Going back to what I said earlier, about having to deal with certain stereotypes about our culture when playing sport full stop… I used to always think about why do they keep bringing up these things when they haven't even met me or know what I'm into? Now I sort of know where they're getting these things from… you can say they fill the gaps sort of… heck, if I didn't know about us, I would probably do the same. When it comes to playing football especially where little things can make a big difference of the way you're seen as a person before even your football does the talking it's a big influencer… Exactly the same with how Black people are seen – because they're always the bad people in programmes and movies a lot of people stay away from them or are intimidated" (FGP13).

These two binding responses reflect on the continuing subtlety in which representations provide a symbolic point of reference for out-group members (Johnson & Grier, 2013). For both FGP23 and FGP13, representations have the power the override questions or queries one may have about BSA football inclusion.

A phenomenon which is also explored is the use of such representations to inform and educate out-group members of particular sporting habits of people, groups and communities one may have little to no contact with on a regular basis. FGP13 in particular, highlights how he himself would also be inclined to stereotype if he was not an in-group member. By having limited contact, one relies on external reference points or mechaninisms (i.e. advertising) to inform and educate (Harrison et al, 2017). Social-psychologist Cialdini (2007) postulates that it is human nature to find meaning within portrayals of groups one may not associate with as it is the "most efficient form of behaving, and in other cases it is simply necessary" (p.6). Note how the latter participant proposes he 'would probably do the same' if other ethnic groups he is not familiar with is to be represented in a similar way.

Section 5.4.3 has highlighted manifestations of cultural stereotypes within advertising representations. In particular, the stereotype which according to participants, filters through is the fact that BSAs are habitually connected to cricket over football. Furthermore, without having the necessary relations needed to understand and acknowledge community relations to football, out-group members are naturally informed of this particular stereotype through advertising portrayals. Section 5.4.4 analyses the perceptions and perspectives of non-BSAs.

5.4.4: '*all seems well and good to me'*

In our consumption-mediated society (Pollay, 1986), it is safe to say advertising representations play an influential role in informing and educating both in-group and out-group members about social identities (i.e. race/ethnicity, culture etc). What has yet to be studied is how non-BSAs perceive the same advertisements. This study looked to fill this void. From the focus group conducted in Phase II, FGP32 and FGP35 both issue similar stances in regards to quality of advertisements and their subsequent reinterpretations of 'reality':

> "These adverts are definitely good. They all represent their sport really well. So you have the two with the football and one with the cricket. It's definitely something I would relate to whenever I think of the two sports. They all seem well and good to me" (FGP32).

> "These adverts are all good. Maybe it's good that you get to see two different sides of football. The Barclays advert is all about the fan experience and the Nike one is about actually playing the game. Like if you would go to the local park and see a bunch of kids playing, I guarantee it would be exactly like that" (FGP35).

These two testimonies give a frank overview of their perceptions to each of the advertisements, but the below testimony provided by FGP31 contextualises each advertisement within the frame of targeted appeals and strategy:

> "All three adverts appeal to different people I would say. The Nike one is speaking to all the kids… trying to get them to get their parents or families to buy the Nike football products. It' brilliant. Even sets my emotional detector waving. I want to go out and buy the gear now too. Whereas the Barclays one is all about the family atmosphere of football…. Everyone cheering together. It's like a ritual now isn't it? On a match-day you have your own little routine for the day – whether it's meeting up at a certain time with friends before the match and then doing something after. I bet they all have their own set times. And the 3rd, the Strongbow advert. I would've definitely used cricket too. They have so many breaks in between their matches so they have enough time to down a few beers" (FGP31).

Relating to each sport in such a manner gives the pretence that all three scenarios are 'correct' and that their interpretation of each is that of 'reality'. Importantly, neither picked up on the visible exclusions of BSAs in the two football-related advertisements, nor the existence of a BSA in the cricket-related advertisement. Figure 16 a memo which highlighted how participant's interpreted the advertisements:

Memo 49: Phase II – focus group discussion

Participants began to talk about the story which was being represented in each of the ads. They see each ad as a way of exploring and explaining a message that the ad agencies want consumers to see.

FGP32 is talking about her liking of the Barclays ad in particular because it should a 'vulnerable' going to a match – this resonates with her as she also banks with Barclays.

Figure 16: Memo describing participants in Phase II talking about advertisements

Note how FGP31 contextualises the Nike advertisement to the everyday lived experience ('local park' scene). Much like what was discovered in that advertising agencies rely heavily on the football field to inform strategy, for non-BSAs, they recall on their own lived experiences. FGP35 and FGP34 give similar accounts of each advertisement:

> "The Barclays one is the best. I go to a few away games and that's exactly how it is when we go to a match. The support on the bus… all singing…

> taking the piss out of people walking by the bus… It's great… Plus the fact that one of the main actors in the advert is a women. You're starting to see a lot more women and girls come to matches now" (FGP35).

> "If you look at the Barclays ad you have a women being the main actor which is different. You never get that in any other football ad to be fair, so I think that's good to see… I only see this because I've got three sisters, so I pick up on stuff like that. Even when you see football on the TV now there's a lot more women going to matches than ever before, so I can see why they would include a women as a fan who goes along with the rest of the club fans together on away matches. So I can definitely relate to that" (FGP34).

One facet of identity they both identify is the inclusion of females in the Barclays advertisement. This manifested through the lived experiences of both participants – FGP35 highlights the fact that females are now engaging more at football matches, whilst FGP34 discusses having three sisters, thus his social environment and quality world informs his perceptions.

Including a female validates the approval of gender in football, hence advertising replicates contemporary identity transformations through their representations as pointed out by the first participant. What was routinely understood to be a masculine space now incorporates the female identity in ways where their presence was once non-existent – 26% of match attendees in the 2014/15 EPL season were females (PremierLeague, 2015); are now playing the game more than ever, with a 60% increase in women's football viewership during 2019 (BBC, 2019), in addition to the numbers increasing in relation to qualified coaches (Morgan, 2018). For FGP34 in particular, his social environment influenced his perceptions to advertisements (being able to 'pick up on stuff like that'). One could question that if he had not had three sisters, his heightened perceptions to gender balance in advertising would be limited. Therefore, habitual experiences play a significant role in one's perceptions to advertising representations.

Section 5.4.4 has analysed the perceptions of non-BSAs to advertising representations. It was found that no-one identified any ethnic exclusions. However, two participants identified gender inclusions. Identifying identity facets such as

gender demonstrates that non-BSAs are aware of identity framing, however when it does not directly infiltrate their conceived and perceived spaces (habitual processes which influence, inform and educate norms, values and ideals), it is rare that one will identify exclusions. If this is the case for non-BSAs, the question then relates to whether football gatekeepers are equally dismissive (87% of football gatekeepers are white BBCSport, 2017), in a way which dictates their choice when it comes to recruiting players.

Section 5.4.5 analyses the way in which BSA participants felt football gatekeepers would perceive advertising representations.

5.4.5: Gatekeeper obligation, preference and reference

There is a perception amongst participants that football gatekeepers continue to racialise BSA communities, even though there have Talent ID programmes implemented to reduce such narrative as per section 4.3.2.1. As pointed out in section 4.3 and Table 4 (page, 52) in the Literature Review, if it is not their physicality, it is their religious affiliations, or cultural necessities which influence their football exclusions. Significantly, a key finding within the parameters of this research was the perception amongst BSA participants that their non-representations in football-related advertising is another driver to their football exclusions – a barrer-to-entry which directly impact football gatekeepers. This is evident in FGP9's discourse:

> "Another thing worth talking about is how the scouts and coaches see the adverts too. If we're influenced by what we see in these ads then I'm sure they are all influenced by it too. That's the issue we have. It's basically saying we [BSA] don't belong in football and that we don't have an interest in football which is totally wrong… It then sort of answers a question these coaches may have about us wanting to get into the professional game" (FGP9).

FGP9 identifies the need to discuss the effects BSA non-representations in football-related advertisements have on a key stakeholder in football: the gatekeepers. By highlighting that 'they are all influenced by it too' supplements the conception that:

(i) football gatekeepers are not kept secluded from advertisements, thus are susceptible to portrayals like all others, and the fact that they are (ii) social beings who relate, transmit and communicate through experience and knowledge (Pollay, 1986). As the participant points out, such representations reinforce gatekeeper perspectives, preferences and orientations about the perceived inclusion dynamics (i.e. football IQ) of BSAs. Although Kilvington (2017a) does not directly highlight how representations effect BSA football inclusion dynamics, the author explicates the need to converse with football gatekeepers as to the level of stereotyping which occurs within BSA-football relations. FGP19 expands on the notion that the vast majority of football gatekeepers are non-BSAs, thus will not identify the excluded identity:

> "I think when talking about the scouts who actually go out and pick out players for their clubs, there's this thing that advertisements won't question their thinking if you know what I mean? That we don't like football. It would be good to have an Asian because it would then make them think twice about the stereotypes we have and actually them going out in a proactive way. If I was in their position I would probably just think there's no interest from us you see…. And also because a lot of these scouts are old and have been there for years you see" (FGP19).

FGP19's discourse postulates a sense that advertisements can question football gatekeeper positions on BSA football inclusion dynamics and dynamisms. Firstly, the participant claims BSA non-representations showcase a sense of little interest in football within community networks (i.e. all-Asian leagues and tournaments) which thus has lasting effects on their football inclusion. Secondly, the participant relates to Jaspal & Bains (1996) and McGuire et al (2001) seminal work on the stereotypes associated to BSA football engagement, but argues that advertising portrayals can help dispel stereotypes (Sterkenburg et al, 2010; Johnson & Grier, 2013). Thirdly, the process of changing ideological processes not only has short-term benefits, but there are long-term formalities which can influence the recruitment infrastructure; FGP19 recognises that gatekeepers tend to be in similar-matched roles over the long-term, thus inclusive representations would have a long-term benefit for BSAs.

The notion that the race of the consumer influences their perceptions and awareness of racial dynamics in advertising (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001; Johnson, 2013) is one which was acknowledged by participants. Subsequently, the racial dynamic of football gatekeepers is explored in the following testimony and how its manifestations can have lasting influences on perceptions of BSAs:

> "They [football gatekeepers] will think because we're not in the scene, Asians aren't into football. It's just another barrier we need to go through to get ourselves seen. It's as if they will reference these and use it as an excuse when they're picking players. I would say that's the biggest problem from these ads. Yes, they influence us but we're not the one's making the decisions in football are we?" (FGP10).

FGP10 glorifies the non-representations of BSAs in football-related advertising as another 'barrier' to entry. By fixating on this particular conception, the participant argues that football gatekeepers will reference these advertisements in their recruitment processes. As FGP10 suggests, by not having BSAs feature in the advertisement ('scene'), their existence in football (level of football skill, engagement and/or participation) becomes obsolete.

As highlighted in the introduction of this thesis, the majority of football gatekeepers are non-BSAs. Participants felt this was played a key indicator when interpreting advertisements and understanding facets of identity exclusions as per what was discovered in section 5.4.4, some may not be accustomed to the multifaceted and complex nature of BSA cultures. Though one cannot categorically assume that football gatekeepers have similar (or lack of) identity recall like those participants within Phase II, it offers an insight into evaluating non-BSA perceptions and perspectives. Nonetheless, FGP22 claims football gatekeepers are categorically influenced by advertising representations:

> "They probably will be influenced by these, but not in the way we're talking about. They won't be sitting at home with their wife or girlfriend saying, 'oh look, there's no brown or black people in that advert'. They'll see it just for

> what it is. Like us all it will be more of a subconscious and will happen over a long period of time. We know that all the adverts around football feature certain people and sort of exclude others. It's like they will see it and think of I sort of knew they weren't into football, look this just strengthens my case. It's just like the cricket advert… We all knew there was going to be an Asian featured… It's predictable" (FGP22).

FGP22's response suggests that football gatekeepers are influenced by representations, but the level of influence manifests within the subconscious. According to the participant, advertising presents portrayals which strengthens and reinforces perceptions that BSAs are excluded in football, and thus 'prefer' sports such as cricket. This is a clear example of Pollay's (1986) articulation how advertising manifests perceptions of the 'self'. However, what is not highlighted in the author's conception, and is recognised explicitly in the above discourse is the fact that perceptions of minority groups are perceived to be also installed through representations. This is an important finding to the discussion of advertising to BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics.

Section 5.4 has highlighted four features advertising manifests. Importantly it suggests the representations portrayed create meaning and a lived-reality. In this sense, advertising representations play a key role in determining how BSAs are perceived in regards to their football inclusion/exclusion.

5.5: Conclusion

The perceptions BSAs have to advertising when it comes to interpretations and football football processes is complex and multifaceted as demonstrated in this chapter. Specifically, it highlighted three interrelated phenomena which showcase this complexity. Firstly, the norm amongst media representations is that of a negitivisation which thus influences how people of South-Asian heritage are seen and understood in the mainstream, with particular emphasis on whether they 'fit' into British customs. This is of paramount importance to BSAs as media representations subsequently influence mainstream narratives. Secondly, perceptions to advertising are not as easily identifiable as the literature suggests, rather primes and cues harbour different

reactions amongst the community. This subsequently links into the conception that BSAs are indeed a 'community of communities'. Thirdly, when it comes to football inclusion/exclusion, and in particular football recruitment processes advertising is pivotal to understandings of BSAs insofar, factors such as having no representation on the field inevitably plays a significant role in determining advertising strategies and thus portrayed representations.

Having analysed several prominent factors which influence the inclusion/exclusion of BSAs in English football, Chapter 6 discusses key points which need to be addressed moving forward, with particular importance paid to re-visiting the initial conceptual framework.

Chapter 6: Discussion

"Community is at the core of football, and with it notions of identity and place"

Cloake (2014)

6.1: Introduction

The overall aim of this study has been to explore the role of advertising (non-)representations to BSA spatial experiences of inclusion/exclusion dynamics within English football. The objectives to meet this aim have been realised in Chapters 1 to 5. The purpose of Chapter 6 therefore is not to repeat the findings of previous chapters, but rather to bring to the forefront key discussion points in regards to BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics and dynamisms that have been predicated by the results discussed in the two previous chapters. Subsequently, Chapter 6 addresses Research Objective 4.

The notion that BSA football inclusion and advertising consumption might at first seem quite straightforward. However, it is far more complex and multifaceted as confirmed initially in the Literature Review and then across Chapter 5. It is further corroborated by the research results from this study which showed that BSA football inclusion is predicated by several key socio-cultural and ethno-religious themes.

With this in mind, Chapter 6 is presented in four different parts: Part 1 (section 6.2) presents a revised conceptual framework which elucidates the process of BSA football inclusion/exclusion based on the analysis of the data collected for this study. Part 2 (section 6.3) explores the manifestations and influence of advertising representations, with particular emphasis on the fact that perceptions to representations are far more complex than the literature suggests. Part 3 (section 6.4) discusses this new and empowered BSA. Part 4 (section 6.5) highlights how current methods and understandings of BSA inclusion in football is over-simplified.

6.2: Revised Conceptual Framework

The initial conceptualisation of this study (Figure 3, page 80) conveyed that manifestations of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and spatiality are complex and multifaceted which emerge and influence social relations at all levels (i.e. micro, meso and macro experiences) through perceived (real), conceived (imagined) and lived (football) spaces. In short, social relations are seen as spatial relations: we cannot talk about one without talking about the other (Lefebvre, 1991). The literature highlighted that for BSAs in particular, the perceived space orientated around: (i) migration and securing a home in Britain, and (ii) living with contemporary forms of Islamophobia; whilst the conceived space identified: (i) BSA relations to sport, (ii) national identity constructs, (iii) stereotypes which inform and influence inclusion/exclusion dynamics and (iv) advertising representations which are known to reflect and effect social relations.

Research findings reflect and advance these positions. Figure 17 (page 271) offers an illustration of a revised conceptual framework which has been informed by the results of this study, and its three key discussion points: (i) advertising representations play a pivotal role in informing BSA football inclusion/exclusion, (ii) young BSAs are governed by this 'new Asian mentality' and its subsequent feeling of empowerment, and (iii) the complexity when assessing inclusion/exclusion through CRT for BSAs in football. Each of these points will be further elaborated in the following sections.

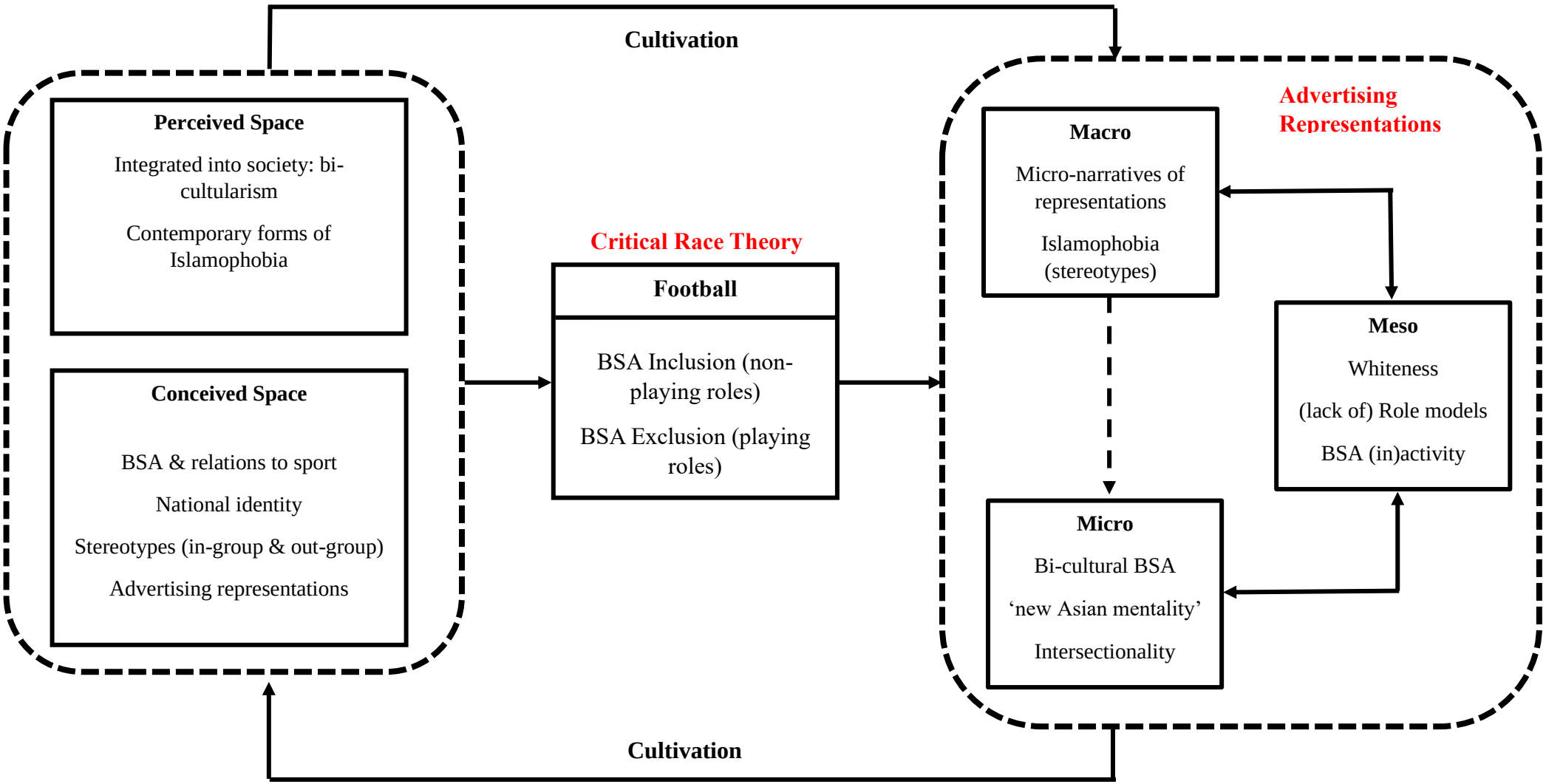


Figure 17: Revised conceptual framework which situates the role of advertising to wider BSA football inclusion/exclusion

6.3: Exploring the importance of advertising representations to BSA football inclusion

A key point as illustrated in the revised conceptual framework is that advertising representations produce a reality which offers distinct perspectives to micro, meso and macro productions. In essence, portrayals depicted through advertising creates a narrative which influences and cultivates the relationship between BSAs and English football.

What was identified explicitly from the research findings was the fact that advertising creates a narrative which illustrates BSAs are not a community who engage or participate in football. Such narrative is informed by two key influencers. First is the conception that wider media portrayals (i.e. news media) create a symbolism which positions the community's norms, customs, pastimes and ideals as not in consonance with that of a contemporary Britain. Importantly, the fact that representations of BSAs tend to orientate around one specific singular identity, or a 'visible minority' in 'Muslims' (Modood, 2003), only supplements such a stance, insofar, representations of people of South-Asian heritage create a public anxiety which brands BSAs as an 'alien other' (Uberio & Modood, 2013). Such branding is then transitioned into football rhetoric.

As pointed out by the findings in section 5.2.1, key events in 9/11 and 7/7 actually initiated such a narrative. Through these representations, an Islamophobia manifests which isolates, segregates and divides inter-community peoples inasmuch, any individual or group of individuals who resembles the imagined image of an oppressor (i.e. race, clothing, language, religion) instantly are seen as a 'threat' to societal stability, and are thus excluded from lived spaces (i.e. football in England).

As demonstrated in the revised conceptual framework, these perceptions of people of South-Asian heritage cultivate a sense of insecurity in regards to 'allowing' an 'other' to infiltrate football, hence a cycle of (mis)understanding prevails through the cultivation of images. Findings are in line with Moore et al's (2008) ascertain which highlights that media representations of 'Muslims' are inherently linked to a hyper-religious narrative which is thought to harm westernised social structures. As a result, conflicts arise between inter-community peoples in which social spaces such as English football become a magnified platform to perform such tensions as was the

case when participants discussed their experiences of Islamophobia when playing the game.

Secondly, in explaining how micro-narratives exist when it comes to understanding why BSAs are not featured in football-related advertising, but are featured in cricket-related advertising is that of stereotypes. When evaluating inclusion/exclusion through the lens of CRT, manifestations of, and implications to stereotypes are typically at the forefront of debates and discussions. This is because stereotypes ensure a divide between 'inferior' and 'superior' groups continue to exist and thus inequalities become apparent (Hinton, 2013). As pointed out in section 5.4.3, participants felt stereotypes are embedded within advertising. Therefore, the answers to the question: why are stereotypes of BSAs in advertising so important to sporting, and in particular, football discourse, fall into two broad categorisations: (i) stereotypes are important because of what they do, and (ii) stereotypes are important because of what they mean. Advertising in this manner adopts the stereotypes which are known to harm BSA acceptance. As pointed out in Table 4 (page 52), there are several prominent stereotypes which impact the inclusion of BSAs in football. By associating BSAs with cricket, as is the case with the cricket-related advertisement, such stereotypes are habitually re-engaged – especially pertinent to football gatekeepers as section 5.4.5 demonstrates. In contemporary rhetoric, the fact that BSAs still refer to negative stereotypes acting as barriers-to-entry cements positions that the community is in fact still perceived to be 'inferior' – post-migration, their consumption of sport was habitually forced upon them through their cultural necessities and associations (Burdsey, 2006a). Such perceived 'inferiority' is further enhanced through advertising. Kilvington's (2012) depiction of the 'Asian Frame' for example, manifests as a result of BSA non-representations in football-related advertising – in this case, non-representations do little to sever stereotypes associated to BSAs - promoting hand-eye coordination over physical strength and/or football IQ.

Stereotyping of BSAs in itself needs a brief re-assessment. Once established colonial principles have been wiped to make way for an ideal which promotes BSA inferiority - pre-migration, people of South-Asian heritage were seen to be physically and mentally strong and disciplined (Tharoor, 2016). This was put in practice, as for many individuals and groups in the Indian Subcontinent, their choice of work orientated around agriculture, an industry where physical strength is a necessity (Tharoor, 2016).

Moreover, many BSA males were enlisted in both World Wars because of such performance-related attributes (Singh, 1963). Such a distinction has thus vanished post-migration, where 'home' and national identity for the majority were being challenged. A coping mechanism for the majority was thus to integrate a number of stereotypes which has its place in popular discourse and subsequently cultivates the perceived and conceived spaces of the masses.

The focus on image – over and above function is at the heart of this discussion. In line with Demangeot et al (2018) and Saatcioglu & Ozanne (2013), who specify the importance of advertising representations to marketplace inclusion, a key discussion point, which was informed by participant discourses across Chapter 5 is the fact that conceptions of representations in itself needs further investigation. The focus of this research has been about the relationship between (non-)representations and football inclusion/exclusion. However, as the findings demonstrate it is simply not sufficient enough to formalise an understanding of community dynamics by simply using (non-)representations. Instead, this study brings to the fore three other forms of 'representations' which need to be considered in discourse surrounding BSAs and football. Thus, formulations of (mis-)representations, (re-)representations and self-representations are discussed next.

(Mis-)representations:

The creation of images and narratives based on those consuming football often serves a purpose of identifying 'who' are active consumers. Yet, among those consuming advertising, such portrayals can be understood as (mis-)representations which "constitutes a manipulation of those represented for consumption by others" (Kearney et al, 2016:3). Understood in this way, when it comes to advertising, a prominent form of communication, the BSA community are in fact (mis-)represented, as football evidently plays a significant role in their lived experiences. Section 4.2.2 specifically highlights how young BSAs, in particular, are proactively seeking inclusion in football. Utilising (mis-)representations in this manner creates a meaning that the community is in a position of wanting to be included, however portrayals are mis-representing lived realities. This false or misleading account subsequently creates

attachments to forms of Islamophobia, exclusions and stereotypes as the findings in sections 5.2.1 and 5.4.3 both demonstrate.

(Re-)representations:

Re-representations is a new term which describes the bi-cultural BSA. Under this banner it situates and contextualises the integrative status of bi-cultural BSAs. Re-representations thus encapsulates how once-established codes of segregation and exclusions (during initial migration) have now been reconditioned to showcase a new superimposed bi-cultural BSA who are prominent consumers of British customs. An example of this '(re-)representation' in action is that of Amazon's 2016 advertising campaign whereby a Muslim and Christian 'meet up' to share similar insights in regards to their religious routines in a bid to sever notions that BSAs are segregationists. In short, the advertisement was in direct response to 'anti-Muslim' rhetoric in contemporary mainstream society. It not only endorsed an anti-Islamophobia, it re-represented a community who are often marginalised because of their 'ideals' against 'westernised customs'. In adopting such a term in relation to BSAs consumption of football, we get to simultaneously highlight active changes within the in-group itself, as well as, demonstrate the progression of inter-community relations. In this sense, one's 'self-concept' (Zinkhan & Hong, 1991) can demonstrate a need for football inclusion through advertising.

Self-representations:

Another key agent of change is self-representations. Self-representations are commonly referred to as controlling or guiding the impression others have on oneself by altering appearance, mode, platform and manner (Hall & Caton, 2017). Significantly, self-representations display scenario-based expressions of the ideal-self. Self-representations are important to the staging of identity, consumption and inclusion/exclusion by having the ability to highlight and identify communal (dis)similarities. Self-representations are thus considered as part of 'identity

performance' (Cover, 2012), giving oft-marginalised communities the power and encouragement to challenge dominant perspectives.

A popular platform to self-represent is social media. Often-oppressed people, groups and communities use the likes of Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube etc. to present their identity in vivid and expressive ways. In other words, social media has allowed for increased agency when it comes to the 'average' individual being able to choose how they present themselves in the public domain. For instance, YouTube serves as a video-based social media platform where 'vloggers' are able to display parts of their lives that are more 'in the flesh' compared to traditional methods of self-representations such as illustrations, poetry, photos etc. Popular football fan channel Arsenal Fan TV (AFTV) – YouTube channel comprised of the largest football fan network in the world which offers authenticity and uncensored opinions on football discourse has gained notoriety amongst popular culture due to their ability to self-represent. Hence, in an era that is dominated by technology, social media in particular has the potential to be a powerful method of self-representation as a result of factors including modernity, empowerment and control As digital media and online distribution becomes increasingly accessible for the large majority of society, self-representations is likely to provide many new insights into the ever-changing nature of contemporary cultures.

The complexity of advertising representations also relates to the fact that they can have different meanings and associations to different people. Specifically, inclusion of BSAs in football is thus not solely reliant on who is represented in advertising, and visa-versa. The notion that simply including an actor or spokesperson in an advertisement to summon football inclusion organically is far too simplistic. Although race is oftentimes a signifier for ethnic inclusion (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001), when it comes to exploring the role of advertising in the context of BSAs in particular, it is far complex and multifaceted insofar, there are other characteristics which inform perceptions, interpretations, opinions and attitudes, namely: intersectionality. Section 6.3.1 discusses intersectionality as key component of the BSA community in regards to perceptions to advertising.

6.3.1: Advertising Representations and Intersectionality

Intersectionality is: “the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations” (McCall, 2005:1771). The complexity of intersectionality in regards to the relationship between BSAs and advertising representations is incumbent on three key components: (i) BSAs as a ‘community of communities’, (ii) progressive-generational differences and (iii) parental dynamics.

Firstly, it is important to bring to the fore the conception that there are many different communities under the homogenised BSA label. In itself, it is simply erroneous to categorise all BSAs as one singular entity whom all have the same norms, traditions, ideals, thoughts, apprehensions and expressions. Rather, there are a number of different religions, cultures and customs under such label. This is in line with Kilvington’s (2016:85) articulation that a “’one-size-fits-all’ response cannot be enforced when it comes to challenging the British Asian exclusion as this collective group constitutes a community of communities”. Significantly, such a notion has relevance to discussions surrounding perceptions to advertising representations. For instance, the inclusion of one particular religion (i.e. Sikh) may demonstrate to other Sikhs that they are included, however those of other religions may not feel the same felt-inclusion. Thus, homogenising through representations is far more complex than first imagined. Take note of the different perceptions and reactions demonstrated in section 5.3.2 to the Strongbow (cricket-related) advertising whereby a BSA was indeed represented, yet, the action of being represented under an alcoholic brand meant those who were Muslim amongst the participants felt little to no connection with the actor because of his alcohol consumption, in addition to the fact that he was perceived to be endorsing the use of alcohol. Linking back to the revised conceptual framework, this is a clear depiction of why an introduction of intersectionality is pivotal to broader associations of representations, inclusion/exclusion and BSAs.

Secondly, a subsequent form which was discovered in the findings was that of generation status. This study’s participants highlighted that different generations of BSAs have explicitly different ways of thinking and functioning. For instance, the majority of third-generation BSAs displayed bi-cultural traits. These bi-cultural traits subsequently informed their perceptions to advertising. Thus, it is safe to assume perceptions to advertising representations are thus conditioned by one’s social

environment (Forehand et al, 2002). A relationship appears to exist in that those participants who were first- and second-generation BSAs related more to cricket, whereas the third-generation participants appeared to be attracted more to the consumption of football. One thing which manifests however, is the fact that previous generations had different oppositional forces to deal with. For instance, overt forms of Islamophobia were particularly rife amongst first and second-generation peoples, hence their apprehensions to participate and engage in British customs. As highlighted by Carrington & McDonald (2001) and Millward (2008), football seemed to be one arena where this phenomenon emphatically existed. Participant discourses acknowledged that connections to cricket for example, was more than a sport of activity, rather it was thought of as a symbolism for security and refuge.

The complexity of intersectionality is further corroborated by the fact that generation status correlated with levels of ethnic self-awareness (ESA). As a result, generation status informed perception to representations. As evidenced in section 5.3.1.2, those BSAs who were first and second-generation were more inclined to have higher levels of ESA, thus the mis-representations of BSAs endorsed a manifesto of football exclusion, whereas third-generation BSAs are understood to be more open and accommodating of such representations. Of paramount importance then is that a divide exists amongst the BSA community which manifests on generational status and generational perceptions of representations.

Thirdly is that of parental dynamics. To promote BSA football inclusion, advertising representations have to be framed for the purpose of attracting parents. Although customs, norms and traditions are dynamically changing throughout successive generations as pointed out in section 4.2.1.1, parents still play a significant role in the lives of young BSAs, thus their influence on sporting cultures are still present. The complexity of parental dynamics also transitions into gender forces. Section 5.3.3 pointed out how participants believed mothers are now in empowered positions when it comes to making the decisions on activities their children are ‘allowed’ to participate in. This cultural-extension is new to BSA discourse. The meanings identified as a result of exploring advertising representations are thus not only categorised through tangible identity traits, but instead also infer intangible dynamics, as it is when highlighting the need to ‘persuade’ parents that football is inclusive of BSAs.

Clearly, the representations of BSAs and the micro-narratives which come along with them have had a demonstrable effect on how BSAs perceive themselves in relation to sport inclusion. Linking back to the revised conceptual illustration (page 271), what has been clarified here is that advertising representations create a meaning that BSAs are inactive in football. Exclusions subsequently manifest through portrayals of (in)activity. Nevertheless, what needs to be discussed is the idea that (non-)representations of BSAs in advertising does not mean inclusion/exclusion from football. This phenomena is discussed in sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3.

6.3.2: Not represented does not mean discriminated against or exclusion from football

It would not be out of the ordinary to suggest that non-representations, discrimination and exclusion all interconnect. However, one feature which this study identifies is the fact that associating discrimination and exclusion with that of being not represented is untrue and simply erroneous. When speaking about BSAs specifically, there are two features which determine such a conclusion.

Firstly, there are simply no BSA footballers competing at the professional levels so how are advertising agencies going to know BSAs are actively participating and engaging in football? This is where market research is key to understanding active, passive and non-existent consumers - especially when discerning engagement and participation patterns in sport, and in particular football whereby England's 'football universe' currently comprises 11 million active consumers (TheFA, 2015).

Roughly speaking, calls have been made that advertising agencies are 'morally myopic' (Drumwright & Murphy, 2004:7) and tend to be informed through their own assumptions without engaging with the market or its consumers. A lack of BSA professionals will inevitably have a significant impact on commercial activities. Irrespective of contemporary needs to be 'morally correct', advertising is typically utilised for one main reason – commercialisation. In line with the findings, this can be one of the reasons why cricket-related advertising, for example, tends to include people of South-Asian heritage in their advertisements – they are typically 'known' to

be active consumers of cricket (Raman, 2015). When it comes to football however, that understanding has yet to be solidified.

Secondly, when individuals, groups or communitys are not represented equally, there seems to be finger-pointing, whereby discrimination and promoting/wanting exclusion is the reason provided (UCLNews, 2018). Again, such a claim has little substance in terms of BSA inclusion in football. Rather, this then leads to identifying the ethics of representation (Schroeder & Borgerson, 2005) - approaches to representations generally tend to adopt and an information-based model for persuasion (i.e. using all information available about who consumes football), emphasising the role of representations as a strategic conduit for information for viewers, rather than acknowledging how images cultivate meaning for both those actively included and those who are excluded. What needs to be thus highlighted is that: yes, represented identities express something true or essential about those represented, however, it does not simultaneously mean that those who are not represented are implicitly and explicitly discriminated against and outwardly excluded from its space.

The next subsection discusses the conception that being represented does not mean inclusion in football for BSAs.

6.3.3: Being represented does not mean inclusion in football

Inclusion in football is not a prerequisite for those who are actively represented in advertisements. Instead it is important to identify manifestations which actually influence perceptions to representations. Two factors which are contextually relevant to BSAs in particular effects such a stance. Firstly, the conception of Kilvington's (2016) use of 'community of communities' transitions into this avenue also. Because BSAs are not a singular homogenised community, representations of one BSA cohort (i.e. religion) may only directly influence those of similar cohorts. Inclusion of such cohort thus does not mean inclusion for all the BSA community. What is important to reinforce here also, is that race is not the only signifier for inclusion, rather it is the ethno-cultural dynamics which create associations and relationships with those being represented.

Secondly, contextual factors may also effect perceptions to representations. It has been demonstrated throughout section 4.3 that BSAs know of, or have experienced forms of Islamophobia in football. Consequently, a paradox exists whereby including a person of South-Asian heritage within visual advertising portrayals will not intrinsically invoke direct inclusion in football, if forces which exclude the group are still rampant within the space itself. The power of context and identity hence needs to be acknowledged, as representational portrayals often combine identity groups and portrayed social roles into included or excluded categorisations (Saatcioglu & Ozanne, 2013). In other words, if an in-group member is seen to be represented, they are seen to be inevitably included within the space it is projecting. Nevertheless, this is not always the case as evidenced throughout Chapter 5.

In sum, when exploring the inclusion/exclusion of BSAs in football, how they are represented in advertising provides an indication of their inclusion/exclusion dynamic. Importantly, exploring representations in such a manner demonstrates that inclusion/exclusion is not solely about race, rather evaluations also needs to include intersectionality, socio-cultural and ethno-cultural manifestations. Section 6.3 (part 2) of Chapter 6 demonstrated that although the go-to conclusion is to think of football exclusions as a result of their non-representations, when examining the phenomenon in-depth, as this study has shown, it is far more complex and multifaceted.

Section 6.4 (part 3) of Chapter 6 discusses the new and empowered BSA which is governed by a ‘new Asian mentality’.

6.4: Empowered, Bi-Cultural BSA and their recruitment in football

The revised conceptual framework pinpointed relations between identity, football and advertising. Subsequently, within the dynamic of football inclusion/exclusion, a contemporary phenomenon exists in that BSAs are now presenting themselves as empowered by means of being bi-cultural, and having this ‘new Asian mentality’ which creates meaning for them to pursue careers in football.

The community's empowered positions reside in several constructs. Firstly, the community are not afraid to hide their identity and the socio-cultural idiosyncrasies which come with it, as was once the manifesto for earlier generations. The community are thus actively talking about and promoting their identity without hesitation or reluctance. Contrary to what Gillespie (2003) and Zapata (2010) indicated in the literature, findings from this study identified how in-group members are now showing a new sense of self-confidence. The dynamics of BSAs being vilified for their ethno-cultural customs has been replaced by an active self-appreciation regarding their identity.

This then links into the second point which explicates the integrative nature of the community. Irrespective of past ideals, norms and customs, the community are now proactively fashioning forms of hybridity to accommodate rather than segregate, hence introductions of the bi-cultural self – a bi-cultural self because their priorities have changed and are thus more receptive to an all-inclusive Britishness. Look no further than their levels of integration into British customs (i.e. football being a prominent pastime), but still having the ability to acknowledge homeland securities and sensitivities. This is in line with Lal Dey et al's (2017) findings which illustrates how young BSA adult's exhibit attributes of both their ancestral and host cultures, with their bi-cultural identity constituted not only by situational constraints and contextual requirements, but also consonances with the Indian subcontinent principles. Integration is thus not simply denying line of heritage of diasporic communities, but acknowledging and presenting them within current contexts.

Thirdly, the community are now in a position to sever the cultural myths and stereotypes attached to the community. Hylton (2009) points out how racialisations of ethnic minority groups include negative stereotypes about physical, biological and cultural features. Nevertheless, BSAs are severing stereotypes through action. For instance, rather than being seen to be segregationists, many young BSAs are actively engaging within mainstream British customs, insofar bi-cultural traits create opportunity, discussion and debates amongst inter-community people, rather than operate in a race-based divide as was once the case.

The constructs discussed above demonstrate that the community are not the passive entity it was once thought to be. Even though advertising representations create a

specific micro-narrative relating to stereotypes and categorisations, the community have identified how to (re)act without a feeling of subjugation. Consequently, football becomes an option and not an obligation.

When it comes to football inclusion in contemporary times however, the question then lends itself to: can you be a bi-cultural BSA and be included in football, or do you have to be a British White Majority (BWM) to be included? This is where this bi-cultural BSA, which encompasses this 'new Asian mentality' and the feeling of empowerment manifests a need/want to be included. However, oppositional forces which are embedded within the recreational, professional and recruitment realms of English football create a presence which ignites a white privilege and thus exclusions, hence the advantages of being a BWM.

In accordance with this new discovery in that BSAs house empowered tendencies, findings from this study show that three separate situations exist between: (i) playing the game, (ii) going to stadia and (iii) working in football.

When it comes to actually playing the game, BSAs are excluded, but are pushing for inclusion. This phenomenon in itself creates a sense of uncertainty and misunderstanding. Even though the young bi-cultural BSA is showing signs of 'masculinity' in the form of high levels of self-efficacy, integration and cultural understanding (key components which are thought to signify success in football), their levels of success in the game are still limited. One notable change which is yet to materialise in public discourse however, is the fact that third generation BSAs, through their integration and openness of British customs, are beginning to acknowledge that a career path does exist in English football. Thus, integration is more than just a sought-after position in the mainstream, it has unilateral meanings to in-group, out-group, football inclusion and perceptions to advertising. Nevertheless, in playing the game, football is ubiquitous in nature as it manifests forms of Islamophobia. This is in line with Millward's (2008) articulation that when physically playing, markers of identity (i.e. religious artefacts, skin colour and language) become noticeable. This view is endorsed by Solomos & Back (1996:58), who highlight that "contemporary thought invokes a range of markers of 'difference' in order to construct the stereotypes and images which racism relies". Such markers of

‘difference’ are established by a macro narrative which suggests a marker (religious or cultural) extends to terror, subjugation and an ‘alien other’.

In terms of watching the game, ‘obligations’ exist within independent micro-expressions of fandom. There still seems to be an internalised disposition which embeds a race-based superior/inferior culture complex. This view is supported by Cleland & Cashmore (2019:11) who suggest English football “normalises Whiteness by giving power and specific social and cultural profits to White supporters through their participation in the game”. Subsequently, fandom becomes a rational argument of acceptance/rejection. This acceptance/rejection phenomena is identified within this study, insofar fandom has seen a drastic change in ‘Muslim accommodation’ – the first of its kind. The inclusion of a ‘Mohammed Salah’ anthem which combines football, culture and religion into a homogenised show of solidarity and acceptance has proved beneficial not only to Muslim-football relations, but also Muslim-mainstream associations. As a direct result of the anthem, hate crimes in Liverpool have decreased by 19%, and anti-Muslim comments online have dropped by 50% (Ostlere, 2019). In this vein, fandom is not only ubiquitous in that it fuels an Islamophobic rhetoric, there are cases nonetheless where it becomes a great equaliser for ‘Muslim’ acceptance, and thus an illustration that BSAs are accepted within stadia.

As highlighted within findings, one area in which BSAs seem to be thriving is that of non-football focused roles (i.e. broadcasters, journalists, presenters and medical associates). The fact that participants voiced such opinions suggest their inclusion is not going un-noticed. Particularly, markers of difference have little to no significance to such roles – their level of sport knowledge is by no means questioned. Within the in-group especially, cultural traits of obtaining a good standard of education seems to have materialised, however, what has changed is the opportunities available to utilise one’s education in sport. Gone are the times whereby football was seen as a working-class space, instead it now attracts corporations, presidents and even separate states – look no further than Qatar’s ownership of Paris Saint-Germain FC and United Arab Emirates ownership of Manchester City FC.

A key discussion point here is that: bi-cultural BSAs are in a unique position (the first of its kind), whereby football is becoming inclusive for in-group members.

Nevertheless, it is seemingly only through non-playing roles. This dynamic is not only of critical importance in future discourse surrounding ethnic inclusion in football, it demonstrates to in-group members that there are positions available for the group in sport.

Having assessed the bi-cultural BSA, another question presents itself: what about those BSAs who are not bi-cultural. Can they retain their own identity and still be included in football? In this sense identity becomes a central construct to BSA football inclusion.

Section 6.4 has discussed how young bi-cultural BSAs are governed by this 'new Asian mentality' which creates a sense of empowerment and enablement. Such is the power of this new mentality, BSAs are actively pursuing inclusion in football, irrespective of the Islamophobia which rears its head. Section 6.5 (part 4) discusses how current assessments and understandings of BSA inclusion/exclusion dynamic in football is indeed over-simplified.

6.5: Over-simplification of BSAs Football Inclusion

Naturally, it is not an overstatement to suggest inclusion in football is about creating a space where race, religion, gender, culture and other identity characteristics are accepted and even promoted. However, it is far more difficult to manifest in practice. In particular, section 6.2 identified how current methods and understandings of BSAs, in terms of their perceived exclusions in English football is far too simplistic.

In reaction to persistent evidence of racism and Islamophobia at all levels of English football, many scholars of race and racism naturally turn to the burgeoning field of CRT as a means to interrogate how such phenomenon manifests. Specifically, critical race theorists deconstruct meanings and understandings of racialisations embedded within sport to better understand *how* these meanings and understandings create existing inequalities. However, as findings across Chapter 4 demonstrate, although one's race did play a role in the exclusions of the community to date, in the form of lived experiences of Islamophobia whilst playing and watching the game, the evidence of this study explicates a need to look beyond race as the primary factor to BSA football exclusions, insofar there are other dynamics which need to be assessed

simultaneously which include the cultural production of BSA identities and in-group forces and dynamics.

A narrow focus on race obscures other influencers which may cause inequalities and subsequent exclusions. In particular, section 4.2.2 discovered that other sports are now takin social precedence in BSA communities, not exclusively due to one's experiences of racialisations in football (although for some participants, it did play a role), but because other sporting opportunities are now more attractive amongst the community. Thus, this form of self-segregation is an in-group dynamic which occurred without the 'force' of dominant people as is majority of the cases when critiquing social relations through a CRT perspective. Although 'blaming' exclusions on race has been the norm in previous literatures, it fails to evaluate the implicit complexities of BSAs being a 'community of communities', in addition to creating a divide between in-group and out-group members as evidenced by participants and scholars (i.e. Litowitz, 1999) alike.

One of the ways critical theorists can serve to generate informed perspectives designed to describe, analyse and challenge social norms is to include a stance on *intersectionality*. Specifically, there are other theoretical perspectives available which have the capability of deciphering the complexity of BSA football inclusion/exclusion dynamics: one of which is ableism. Although ableism is generally used to challenge inequalities faced by disabled people (Wolbring, 2008), its theoretical perspective includes an array of possibilities, characteristics and other intersectional proponents which inform inequality and injustices – a feature CRT fails to appreciate. Most notably, Wolbring (2012) submits that ableism should be employed as an analytical tool which investigates other 'isms' – such as racism and sexism, or specifically, in the context of "non-body related abilities" (p.78), insofar "ableism can be understood in a broader and more persuasive way than its original meaning and application" (p.78). In the case of evaluating BSA football inclusion/exclusion, this study has shown that perhaps 'ability' needs to be evaluated also, which links to the broader utilisation of ableism – the lack of biological understanding (without stereotypes) of how the BSA bodies are 'made-up' in regards to their 'ability' to play football. Consequently, ableism and representations coincide which leads to an ability-based and ability-justified understanding of "oneself, one's body, one's relationship with others within one's species, other species and one's environment" (p.79).

A second approach could be placing emphasis on cultural production in society (Saha, 2018), and in particular, its mechanisms, processes and procedures which produce oppressive ideologies. Whilst studies of race and production have provided original and much needed empirical insight into the dynamics that shape race-making practices in media, there are arguments that production studies of race would benefit from a greater engagement with culture (Saha, 2020), and in particular an assessment of hybrid cultures and its relationship with football discourse. It then becomes not a question of how football represents inequalities, but how football manifests inequalities. Results would thus prove useful in implementing strategies, programmes and projects to improve equality. With the use of this approach, there has been positive changes in the implementation of ethnic minority-specific 'Talent ID' programmes, 'Bringing Opportunities to Communities' policy and The FA's 'BAME Coaching Bursey'.

By exploring inequalities specifically through advertising, this study has identified the problem is not that BSAs are victimised solely because of their race, but because they are not in positions of power to change and challenge how representations manifest. The revised conceptual framework illustrates how macro-to-meso and meso-to-micro categorisations interconnect with one another, thus norms, values and ideals are passed between one another. However, findings across section 5.2 explicate how micro-to-macro relations have yet to be developed. Importantly, this study identified a phenomenon which occurs in practice: without regular representation on the football field, advertising and media representations will inevitably cultivate football exclusions. Clearly, inclusive representations of BSAs in advertising will have demonstrable effects on their levels of football inclusion and inclusivity in mainstream society. Advertising therefore can be considered as a significant social component which has the capability of manifesting inclusion in football for BSAs, in addition to having an effect on BSA inclusion in the mainstream – a topic which inevitably goes alongside football discourse.

Today, the complexity of BSA inclusion/exclusion goes beyond mere playing and watching formalities insofar, a number of BSAs, over the past five years especially, have secured front-line roles – namely in white-collar positions. This is another illustration that it is simply not sufficient enough to consistently refer to race for BSA football exclusions, if a number of in-group members are succeeding in broadcasting,

journalist and medical-based roles. Importantly, this ideological shift has been noticed in section 4.4.4. Referring back to a need for a micro-to-macro relationship, the use of such actors does create a sense of inclusion amongst the in-group.

The question then is thus: what can these actors who represent BSAs in white-collar roles do for the progression of the community in playing, coaching and managerial positions? This then brings to the fore a different use of role models. Across the majority of previous literatures (e.g. McGuire et al, 2001; Burdsey, 2007b; Saeed & Kilvington, 2011), having role models has been considered of paramount importance in regards to promoting inclusion, yet creating that cycle was considered difficult to manifest as structures and ideals had to be changed to create accommodation. However, this study articulates how existing BSAs within white-collar roles have the opportunity to cultivate football inclusion for all BSAs – namely, it is not a drastic change in structures, rather this strategy incubates representations and education that BSA ideals have changed to active football inclusion over self-segregation.

Again, this discussion point is not objecting to race being an issue which needs to be put aside, rather it explicitly highlights that other factors, features and facets need to be considered simultaneously. Notably, this research across football and advertising explicates how racialisations do exist, but as the young bi-cultural BSAs in this study demonstrated, one needs to look past it as a barrier-to-entry. Thus, levels of self-efficacy becomes a characteristic which has a significant impact on BSA football inclusion insofar, it can become a barrier or facilitator.

Not only is this over-simplification identified in previous literature, it is also witnessed in managerial policy. For instance, both the FA's Football Action Plan (2013) and Bringing Opportunities to Communities Plan (2015), which are leading policies tackling all forms of lived-discrimination experienced in and around English football, in a bid to ensure the game is open to all individuals, groups and communities, oversimplifies the complexity of inclusion. When speaking specifically of BSA football inclusion, there has been a constant focus on a White/'Other' dynamic which explicitly oversimplifies 'other' situations, perspectives and perceptions. As demonstrated across both Chapter's 4 and 5, BSA football inclusion/exclusion is complex and multifarious in nature which need to be considered and appreciated when pushing for inclusion, so much so, the 'other' or

BAME label does not justify details of a ‘community’, or ‘community of communities’.

6.6: Conclusion

Chapter 6 provided an in-depth insight into the complexity of BSA football inclusion/exclusion. Specifically, it highlighted how macro, meso and micro categorisations interconnect to create a complex dynamic which sees BSAs wanting football inclusion, but representations acting as barriers-to-entry. The narrative associated to representations is thus cultivated back into the perceived and conceived spaces of the mainstream and a subsequent cycle exists which reinforces the racial-cultural stereotypes BSAs are consistently aligned with.

Chapter 7 provides a comprehensive conclusion to this research study, bringing forth several key points which exemplify the complexity of inclusion/exclusion dynamics to academic and managerial discourse.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1: Introduction

Chapter 7 returns to the research aim and briefly summarises key findings. It also identifies the main contributions. Following this, it presents the study's drawbacks and solutions. Finally, it recognises topics for future research. Consequently, Chapter 7 addresses Research Objective 5.

7.2: Summary of Key Findings

The research aim was to *explore the role of advertising (non-)representations to BSA spatial experience of inclusion/exclusion in the context of English football*. This aim has been subsequently achieved.

As the rhetoric surrounding advertising representations continues to grow both nationally and internationally (Saren et al, 2019), it becomes of paramount importance for those exploring social injustices to identify, analyse and evaluate the influence and impact of advertising representations (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2005; Saatcioglu & Ozanne, 2013; Harrison et al, 2017). In this regard, approaching the BSA in football movement with this perspective in mind offers a unique insight which has previously not been explored, even though the football marketplace is rife with visual representations (Chadwick et al, 2015). The research findings and key discussion points which were presented in the previous three chapters are briefly summarised below.

What was implicitly and explicitly discovered was the fact that advertising plays a significant role in informing processes of football inclusion/exclusion for BSAs. In essence, it demonstrated that advertising is a key component to the community's levels of acceptance, as it is a key contributor to the narrative which reinforces superimposed notions that BSAs are both segregationists and thus not a 'football community' by visually displaying little associations to the sport and thus British customs. In doing so, racialisations occur and stereotypes persist. However, what was

apparent was this in-group dynamic which reinforces the conception that BSAs are a 'community of communities' insofar, the level of influence advertising had on the self was co-dependent on a paradox of five key factors (mode of acculturation, ESA, religious affiliations, parental dynamics and one's level of understanding of football), therefore illustrating the multifaceted and complex nature of this topic.

What was also identified was that inclusion/exclusion in football for BSAs is not simply a race-based phenomenon, rather it is far more complex than relying on a narrative which suggests one's race is the defining characteristic which outlines acceptance or rejection. Chapter 4 in particular highlighted the multifaceted nature of the BSA in football movement inasmuch, key barriers and facilitators were suggestively dissected, explained and expounded. Consequently, the inclusion of BSAs in football is thus reliant on both in-group and out-group formalities.

In line with the in-group dynamic, what was also discovered was this 'new Asian mentality' which governs young BSAs. In short, it includes heightened levels of self-efficacy which thus installs a sense of 'forcing' success in football. Look no further than the amount of young BSAs infiltrating the game in non-playing roles. A case can thus be made that awareness of football inclusion for BSAs has begun, with subsequent BSA generations now appreciating the acceptance of fellow in-group members, rather than relying on a previous rhetoric which installed rejections and exclusions.

Combined, this study has brought to the forefront key dynamics and dynamisms which need to be considered in future academic and managerial discourse which surrounds the BSA population and their football inclusion.

7.3: Contributions

This subsection outlines the four key contributions this study offers to theoretical, methodological and managerial field of knowledge.

First, this study contributes to literature streams on inclusion/exclusion, race and racialisations and BSA sport consumption patterns. Specifically, very few research studies have combined advertising representations and English football, in regards to

assessing inclusion/exclusion of ethnic minority groups. Given Thangaraj's (2012) and Shankar's (2013) claims that advertising representations prove pivotal to understandings of South-Asian sporting identifications in the US, this study provides in-depth insights into these social processes, however responding by evaluating this research problem within a British context. Importantly, it illuminates and triangulates perspectives from three separate stakeholders which highlights the complexity of BSA football inclusion/exclusion in relation to the barriers and facilitators they face in contemporary practice, with advertising proving to be a key component to their inclusion/exclusion. Although previous studies have highlighted a wave of change within the BSA identity (i.e. Ratna, 2011; Kilvington, 2017), this study directly uncovers how this manifests among bi-cultural BSAs, whereby a 'new Asian mentality' and a feeling of empowerment are pushing for football inclusion, irrespective of the racism and discrimination experienced. Most notably, it highlights how in-group and out-group dynamics need to be discussed, contrasted and evaluated in the future when it comes to discovering the barriers and facilitators to BSA football inclusion – it is not just about out-group members 'forcing' exclusions, rather there are in-group dynamics which are also influential.

The second contribution is linked to the abovementioned. The synthesis of CRT and spatiality as a theoretical lens to identify manifestations of inclusion/exclusion has proved essential in discerning the complexity of community dynamics. This has led to recognising the impact and differences of perceived (real) and conceived (imagined/ideological) notions and how they co-create a perception of English football. By showing the differences of perceived, conceived and social spaces, this study supports and extends Saatcioglu & Ozanne's (2013) position that utilising spatiality in research of consumption cultures is a proficient way to develop and ascertain understandings of inclusion/exclusion. Moreover, combining CRT and space has in fact answered Hylton's (2009:8) speculation that "critical theorisations of sport and social relations would benefit from incorporating the complexities of spatiality and intersectionality".

The third contribution is of a methodological nature, and relates to insights into positionality and reflexivity. Although understandings, acknowledgements and appreciations of researcher identity is of paramount importance in qualitative research as identified by several key authors (i.e. Clarke, 2005; Charmaz, 2008; Berger, 2013;

Stockdale, 2017), it has yet to materialise as a consistent component across all forms of qualitative research which focuses on minority inclusion/exclusion. Subsequently, this research extends Grier et al (2017) and Saren et al's (2019) call for more researchers to explicitly highlight and evaluate the role of the researcher. It gives an operational contribution to how a researcher's identity is not a static entity it is once thought to have been, rather researchers can have fluid identities as displayed in this particular research study.

Fourth is a contribution to policy. The study highlights a need for policy-makers to take a broader view on contemporary social inclusion processes and enablers instead of simply focusing across white/BAME dynamics when it comes to inclusion in football. International football bodies' policies (i.e. FIFA's Good Practice Guide 2017 and UEFA's Unite Against Racism 2015) both showcase this focus on white/'other' dynamic, which, although highlights implications of discrimination, does little to detail how discrimination manifests, and the extent of its significance to minority communities in localised countries, states and districts. Localised policies – i.e. the FA's three-year Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Plan (2014) and their Bringing Opportunities to Communities Plan (2015) – both of which focus explicitly in the UK, explicate a need to narrow down a focus on including more BSAs in the game, however, only the latter, with the support of Sporting Equals (2014), demonstrates the complexity within BSA communities. Drawing from this study's findings, additional areas the abovementioned policies should address are that of: (i) progressive-generational differences, (ii) 'new Asian mentality', (iii) community of communities concept, and (iv) implications of stereotyping through media representations. Combined, they provide a more nuanced understanding of today's BSAs and their experiences and expectations. Secondly, uncovered misbalances in BSA advertising representations opens directions for further developments in advertising policy. For instance, within the UK Code of Broadcasting Advertising Practice Policy (2010: section 15, page 75-78), there is a distinct lack of awareness for minority groups' consumption patterns. Thus, making claims for efficacy or accuracy is of paramount importance in contemporary practice where facets associated to multiculturalism, integration, democracy and mixing is beginning to be questioned within political rhetoric. Moreover, when sponsors of English football develop their advertising strategies, they could draw key insights from this study's finding. Doing so will

demonstrate a heightened level of acknowledgement and understanding of the community's football consumption levels, in addition to identifying and appreciating contemporary social patterns and processes which are often-times not reflected in advertising representations. Hence, managerial implications need to consider: (i) representations have an impact of BSA football relations (for both in-group and out-group), (ii) non-representations and exclusions reinforce an anti-football narrative which is often-time situated through racialisations and stereotyping, in addition to (iii) discovering the commercial benefits of including BSAs in advertising campaigns – a substantial benefit which has yet to materialise.

7.4: Study's Implications

A number of implications can be discerned from this study's findings.

With empirical evidence gathered in this study, there was a clear distinction between BSA identities and their lived realities as football fans, players and passive consumers. The notion of inclusion/exclusion is thus not singular, rather the evidence in this study illustrates that inclusion can manifest in non-playing roles in football, whilst exclusion still manifests in playing positions. However, with the advancements of this 'new Asian mentality', BSAs are agents in their own football careers, in which they accommodate, negotiate, choose and contest forms of oppression and inequality.

Second is the role of media in regards to processes of cultural production, representation and inclusion/exclusion of BSA groups and communities. The findings explicate how media representations are critical in shaping the perceptions and interactions between BSAs and wider communities. Through the cultural production associated with representations, the media are active agents in promoting 'false univeralisms' – ill-informed representations of young bi-cultural BSAs whom have now integrated into mainstream society. Through this integration, findings demonstrate that young BSAs are empowered to make active changes and subsequently challenge oppressive ideals. The media is now becoming hyper-aware of identity sensitivities. For instance, the fact that we are beginning to see a drastic change in multi-racial marketing strategies which act as a form of 'cultural currently' (Harrison et al, 2017:515) demonstrates the change in production. One cultural

industry which has seen a significant change in inclusion/exclusion dynamics is theatre. Romero and Juliet saw its first BSA play Romeo (RSC, 2017). Such inclusions has thus acted as 'socialising agents', 'socio-cultural transformations' and 'cultural proliferations', all of which suggest that with the help of the media, BSAs are now infiltrating spaces which were once closed to them.

A third implication is the relationship between football, BSA communities and persistence of racism. Although there were different forms of lived-Islamophobia, section 4.3.2 explored the influence of institutional racism and subsconscious bias, and its influence on recruitment processes and other agencies of inclusion. To challenge these racisms and their dominance in football, there needs to be distinctive strategies in place. Thus, rather than take a generalist perspective and adopt strategies which are, to date, ineffective, BSA inclusion in advertisements could be encouraged in order to bridge the gap between 'parallel communities'. This approach has yet to be delivered, however, as expressed by participant discourses, it would help redress exclusions. Implementing such transformative change is not the solution to the problem. Rather, there needs to be complimentary programmes and projects to tackle culturally-ingrained exclusions.

Finally, is the consideration of how debates in the thesis have evolved since the data was collected. In recent years mainstream society and media have become hyper-aware of identity manifestations, their representations, consumption patterns and influence. In other words, self-definitions have impacted social composition, insofar we are now in a social climate where racialisations are not distinctively challenged. Furthermore, we are in a transition whereby third-generation BSAs are growing older and fourth-generation BSAs now developing. Thus, it will be interesting to follow their consumption patterns, and whether we will see a change in sport, and in particular, football inclusion. The 'ideological shift' discovered in this study should benefit their progression. For example, there has been a significant shift in regards to the number of BSAs becoming professional boxers (Shafi, 2020).

7.5: Study's Limitations

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study. The researcher recognises that these limitations were predicated on context, situation, researcher role and choice of exploring visual advertising. They are reviewed below in a bid to highlight possible solutions that can be implemented in future research.

The first limitation is predicated on the size of the participant sample. It is difficult to make a complete generalisation of the issues at hand, and the complexity of them when only evaluating the perceptions, perspectives, attitudes and opinions of a select number of participants. Furthermore, there was a constant referral to male voices amongst participation discourses. Although females were present, there was only a select few in comparison to that of BSA males. Hence, while this small study has raised some important discussions and debates in regards to representations, advertising and inclusion/exclusion dynamics and dynamisms which are particularly pertinent to contemporary times, more work is needed to obtain insights and unpack the role of sport in general, and football in particular in the BSA females' inclusion/exclusion.

The second limitation of this study relates to its geographical coverage. Because this research study was predominately West-Midlands based, it is necessary to acknowledge that it does not provide a complete assessment of the social dynamics, football engagement and inter-community relations across Britain. For instance, cities such as Bradford and Greater London are home to a significant population of BSAs. On the contrary, cities such as Norwich, Plymouth and Darlington are home to a limited amount of BSAs. Between the different cities therefore, their perspectives and perceptions may differ. In similar circumstances, the West-Midlands is home to a number of football clubs and a substantial BSA population – 10.8% of its population are people from South-Asian heritage (Census, 2011), hence engagement and participation in football is far more likely than other regions who may not have such a number of clubs in their local vicinity.

The third limitation relates to the researcher himself. Although his Positionality and Reflexivity was discussed extensively in section 3.6 (page 89), it is still important to highlight how it may have posed unintended impacts on the outcomes of this study. Researcher identity in interpretivist research is always in question. By being a

cultural-insider in terms of designing, researching, interpreting and analysing the data, the fact is that the research process in itself can be impacted, albeit implicitly and unintendedly. Having said that, being in such a position offers a unique chance to explore a phenomenon which, in an abstract manner, centres on an in-group versus out-group dynamic.

A final limitation is posed by the focus on visual representation to assess inclusion/exclusion. The researcher acknowledges that there are other forms of advertising (i.e. textual and verbal) which can influence and elucidate features which present themselves as including/excluding a group. The choice to explore visual advertising was guided by the fact that it has gained notable traction in recent years in terms of their influence to the 'self' and thus the level of inclusion/exclusion one feels in lived spaces. With this study illuminating the role of advertising in sport and football inclusion/exclusion, the role of other forms of advertising are important to explore.

7.6: Identifying Directions for Future Research

Alongside areas for future research to address the limitations outlined above, this study opens up a number of other fruitful future research directions. Four key areas are presented and discussed separately below.

Firstly, there is a need to analyse the economic investments of BSAs in English football – in terms of ticket purchases, merchandise sales and other football-specific purchases. Football has transitioned into an arena in need of economic consumption, and in particular, the investment of people. This determines their level of inclusion from a commercial perspective. Analysing the economic investments of BSAs will provide an illustrative and tangible perspective of engagement patterns. This will thus demonstrate their level of football participation and engagement. Moreover, there is also the possibility that a comparison can be embraced between football and other sports to determine which sport BSAs engage with the most. Although this will not specifically ascertain inclusion, it will denounce perceptions that BSAs are not engaging in football.

Secondly, there is a need to explore international football and sport advertisements to find out how the South-Asian identity is portrayed (if at all) in other countries and continents. Irrespective of mainstream dynamics, it would provide an overview of which communities are perceived to be active consumers of the particular sport in question. Moreover, such analysis would particularly highlight if and what cultural stereotypes exist in other contexts. Shankar (2013) and Thangaraj (2012) discovered this in their analysis of advertisements in the United States, however they focused specifically on commercial activity rather than participation and engagement. Exploring advertisements in other countries and continents would thus provide comparisons between British representations and the representations in other states. A contemporary comparison could be that of Qatar – a state pursuing to manifest a $27 billion sporting industry/heritage (TheStraitsTime, 2019). Representations in Qatar is of particular significance as they will host the World Cup in 2022 in addition to being a home to a number of diasporic South-Asians (Pattisson & Nair, 2018).

Thirdly, it is necessary to evaluate changes in how identities are portrayed throughout all media representations. It is not uncommon to assume that changes and adaptions tend to happen as a result of the demand in mainstream rhetoric. For instance, one can generally assess the demand of the mainstream when watching popular British pastimes (including national soaps and programmes). Notice how Eastenders (a London-based soap which has a consistent viewership of 3.5+ million) has actively included minority groups in their stories – i.e. 2019 will see the first Sikh family leading a prominent storyline (Lindsay, 2019). Likewise, Coronation Street (a Manchester-based soap which has a consistent viewership of 4+million) incorporates such a stance in mainstream-to-television narratives. Given the extent to which national soaps incorporate these in-demand social processes, the question then leads to: will sport-related advertisements (and their sponsors) follow suit?

Fourthly, the perceptions, attitudes, opinions and perspectives of football decision-making gatekeepers require further examination. With only 22 out of 482 coaching positions taken by BAME individuals (BBCSport, 2017), it would be beneficial for future research to identify how football gatekeepers perceive football-related advertising in a bid to recognise whether representations inform decisions. Furthermore, there is a need to evaluate the process of how staff are appointed – what

are the credentials needed to be considered for scouting, coaching and/or managerial roles?

Fifth, there is a need to analyse the strategy agencies use when producing advertising campaigns. As declared throughout this research study, representations are significant to the lived experiences of minority groups, and in particular, their level of (felt) inclusiveness. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to identify what intricacies, details and decisions go into producing advertising campaigns; whether agencies extensively look at the market in terms of demand, or whether they simply identify 'known' participants.

Sixth, it is necessary to further analyse race and other forms of 'alleged' discrimination campaigns in English football in accordance with their successes and failures. This study has brought to the forefront a number of questions which can be explored within the context of other minorities (i.e. gender and disability). The changing climate of societal dynamics highlights that there is still a massive need to combat social injustices and exclusions which exist in English football.

Finally, the call for more research on the 'bi-cultural'/'new Asian mentality'. Although this phenomenon was explored and evaluated in the context of BSAs and English football, it would be beneficial to identify whether such phenomenon exists within other diasporic South-Asian communities – for example, American South-Asians pursuing inclusion or Basketball, or Canadian South-Asians pursuing inclusion in Ice Hockey.

7.7: Conclusion

Overall, this study has revealed that football-related advertising fails to represent the largest ethnic minority community in Britain – BSAs. In doing so, it adds to the barriers-to-entries which already exist within mainstream and sport rhetoric. This is of great concern to those individuals and groups who are proactively trying to further the BSA in football movement. Although this piece of research is a small contribution to an issue which continues to plague an identity marker, it has called attention to the implicit and explicit influence of advertising representations which thus informs perceptions, actions, thoughts and interpretations. With this in mind, given three decades of insight into the lack of BSAs in English football, the following managerial quote is still of paramount importance today:

> *"There is no question that football has come a long way in recent times in involving ethnic minorities in the game. There is still much work to do, particularly in bringing more people from the Asian communities into the sport, but it is important to recognise that we now have the principles of achieving genuine equality and diversity embedded in our thinking and in our strategy"*
>
> Director of Corporate Affairs at the Football Association (2005)

Appendix 1: Synopsis of Nike advertisement

The advert opens up with a group of young adults facing each other on a grassroots football pitch dressed in typical football outfits, with both captains initiating a 'winner stays on' match. An upbeat song then begins to play. The young adults then choose a footballer who they want to imitate; "if winner stays on, guess I'm Cristiano Ronaldo then". The young adult then transforms into Cristiano Ronaldo. Another young adult states; "if you're Ronaldo, then I'll be Neymar". The match starts with the young adults playing. Whilst passing the ball, a voice shouts "Rooney" and the player transforms into Wayne Rooney. Another voice calls "Zlatan", who them transforms into Zlatan Ibrahimović. Similar shouts are called for Gonzalo Higuaín and Eden Hazard. The professional players then rein act some of their iconic skillsets against these grassroots players.

After what seems a competitive match, the young adult who transformed himself into Cristiano Ronaldo says "1-0 and the crowd goes wild". A fellow young adult replies "so what, I've got 50,000 fans screaming my name" with the camera then simulating a sold out stadium. During the match, the camera zooms into spectators showing their passion and enthusiasm by mimicking a shouting pose - all are white. A young adult transforms into defender Gerald Pique. Two players call for David Luiz - both transforming. The camera again cuts to the crowd who are shocked. Majority are white with only 2 black spectators.

Another player calls "Iniesto" and a Spanish postman appears. The young adult shouts "you mean Iniesta!". Neymar and one of the grassroots players combine to score a goal. When celebrating, the camera appears in what looks to be an African restaurant. The spectators inside celebrate viciously. We then hear a grassroots goalkeeper shout to his fellow teammates, who look back at him bewildered with what he wants. A corner kick is taken as professional and grassroots players' battle for control. Popular Marvel character The Hulk appears with one of the grassroots players shouting; "you can't be the hulk".

The setting again chances to what seems to be a South-American bar where fans celebrate passionately. After a grassroots player scores another goal, the setting changes into an Asian (Chinese or Japanese) house where the father cuddles his son

and daughter after watching the goal being scored. One of the professional players seems to be fouled. Fans in the crowd start arguing shouting; “Dive” and “Penalty”. The music stops whilst Cristiano Ronaldo steps up for the penalty. The camera pans out to each of the different settings; restaurant; bar; house.

A grassroots player then takes the ball off of Cristiano Ronaldo. This all builds up to a tense finale. The crowd have their hands on their mouths. Stepping up and scoring, the music resumes and a drawn out message appears; “Risk Everything”.

Appendix 2: Synopsis of Barclays advertisement

The opening segment shows a British White women standing at a bus stop. The bus stops and the women gets on board saying “alright” to the passengers. The setting changes to a White senior gentleman sitting in a couch at home drinking a cup of tea. A clock in the background shows the time being 2:23pm. The gentleman wraps a blue scarf around his neck and grabs an umbrella which is situated next to a picture of a senior women (likely to be his wife). Slow, peaceful music then begins to be play and the gentleman smiles at the picture.

We then see the previous women and what appears to be her boyfriend on a coach with other fans (due to their similar colour attire). The male starts to chant; “Manchester la la la. Manchester la la la”. It then pans to father and son sitting on a bench in a train station. The father, pointing at his watch says; “look at the time, we’re going to miss the start of the game”. The senior gentleman mentioned above then closes his front house door in a street where you can see all the houses are terraced, giving a sense of historic protocol. A large group of fans appear beside him singing, a definitive feature at any football match.

We see the coach stuck in traffic and the women visibly agitated with all the singing and chanting. Panning to the father and son on the train, they too seem agitated as the train is busy with people singings and pushing. Contrasting characters of the father and son are shown – father enjoying the moment, whereas the son looking passively out of the train window. Walking to the match the father requests to hand his sons hand but the boy refuses, illustrating a sense of sadness and despondency. Still waiting on the coach, the males see an individual walking with a plant on the pavement and start singing “who’s that geeza with the plant! Who’s that geeza, who’s that geeza with the plant!”

Now entering the stadium full of fans the senior gentleman starts to smile (upbeat music starts to play). A steward who recognises the gentleman joyfully asking “hiya, how are you today?”. In the stadium the father and son, women and her male friend and the senior gentleman start to smile. Each of them showing their passion. The boy and the father shouting “run! Run!”. The senior gentleman murmuring to himself, and

the women shouting “come on!”. What looks like the team missing a chance, we see the crowd forcefully putting their head in their hands and sighing.

The music abruptly ends as the senior gentleman begins his walk back to his house and a voiceover says; “to follow is to love. To the millions of fans who make the Barclays Premier League what it is, we say thank you”.

Appendix 3: Synopsis of Strongbow advertisement

The scene opens up with a caption; “8 BRAVE CONTENDERS”. Next an all-male cricket team of 8 appear walking towards the camera in their match attire beating their hand with their cricket bat. We then see England Cricketer James Anderson appear in Strongbow sponsored Cricket attire, with the caption “6 BALLS. WHO WILL STEP UP?”.

A pre-match managerial talk takes place with the players seated and 3 other Cricket stars standing up giving instructions – 2 are White and the other Asian. One says “You’re all hear because you think you can face one of the world’s quickest bowlers and probably the premier swing bowler, Jimmy Anderson”. From the television screen behind the men, James Anderson appears. We then see the faces of the players sitting down – some anxious smiles and laughs. Camera zooms into an Asian male who seems excited at the challenge.

The scene then changes to the players training on an outdoor pitch, with the same coaches standing up before now barking orders. They illustrate the power of a bowl by rein acting it with a watermelon. The men quench when the watermelon explodes. A 1-to-1 interview is then presented. The Asian male says; “I’m hoping he’s a bit tired after the ashes”. Another male declares; “Jimmy, I’m coming for you pal”.

A more serious training sessions ensues, with the men batting in a batting cage. One of the coaches’ states; “OK guys I really must emphasise to you this is your last chance and only 1 of you is going to get the opportunity to go forward and face Anderson. Today is going to be much tougher. You’re going to face 3 balls each from Ramesh in front of our panel of experts. He’s not going to hurt you” – the players again seem anxious and start laughing. Each of the players step up with the bowler fizzing the ball into the desired area. After a discussion, we see one of the coaches claim; “we’re going to go with Pete”.

The player then comes out of a tunnel in full cricket attire and a recreated stadium is shown, as fans cheer with blow up balloons. James Anderson steps up and bowls. The camera zooms into the Asian coach who is talking to another coach. The music stops with a heartbeat sound pulsing as the final bowl is taken. A close up is taken of the player’s face as he hits the ball. After hitting the ball the crowd begin to cheer and

embrace the player. Finally, James Anderson hands the batter a Strongbow beer patting him on the shoulder. A caption “PETE EARNED IT” finalises the advertisement.

Appendix 4: Participant information sheet

Study Title

British South-Asians (BSAs) in Advertisements – Underrepresentation of British South-Asian's within English Professional football

Invitation Paragraph

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully and don't be afraid to ask questions if anything you read is not clear or if you would like additional information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The primary purpose of this study is to assess whether or not football-related advertising affects the engagement and participation rates of British South-Asians within English football. With there being a lack of 'Asian' representation in contemporary adverts, this study looks to explore whether or not they influence decisions on participation and successful involvement. Primarily, the purpose will be educational, however, if industry opportunities arise, the study will be published in industry-focused reports.

Why have I been invited?

You have been invited to take part in this study due to your association with British South-Asian participation within English football.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide. The researcher has briefly described the study but is available to answer any further questions. The researcher will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw at any given time, without providing a reason.

What will I have to do?

There are no specific requirements from you as a participant. The researcher will send you proposed time, dates and location for focus group.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

We cannot promise the study will help you, but the information we get from this research will help increase the understanding of British South-Asian underrepresentation in English football.

Are there any disadvantages of taking part?

It could be that you are not comfortable talking about sensitive issues regarding your football participation.

What if there is a problem?

Content removed on data protection grounds

Will my participation remain confidential?

If you agree to take part, your name will not be recorded and information you provide will be totally anonymous throughout the analysis and results. Your responses will be used solely for the purpose of this project, eliminating any third-party involvement. All information provided will be safely secured in line with Coventry University Ethics policy (researcher can provide you the information if required); password protected and only accessed on Coventry University portal. Any hard copy information will be stored in a locked cabinet, within a locked office, accessed only by the researcher.

What will happen to the results of this research?

Likely outputs include academic publications and dissemination of findings to advertising organisations and various National Governing Bodies in sport. All published outcomes will be made available to you on request. You will not be identified in any report/publication unless you give your consent beforehand.

What happens now?

Content removed on data protection grounds

Appendix 5: Participant informed consent sheet

British South-Asians (BSAs) in Advertisements – Underrepresentation of British South-Asian's within English Professional football

The primary purpose of this study is to assess whether or not football-related advertising influences the engagement and participation rates of British South-Asians within English football. With there being a lack of 'Asian' representation in contemporary adverts, this study looks to explore whether or not they influence decisions on participation and successful involvement. Primarily, the purpose will be educational, however, if industry opportunities arise, the study will be published in industry-focused reports.

	Please initial
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions	☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at anytime without giving a reason	☐
3. I understand that all the information I provide will be treated in confidence	☐
4. I understand that I also have the right to change my mind about participating in the study for a short period after the study has concluded (7 days)	☐
5. I agree for anonymised quotes to be used as part of the research project	☐
6. I agree to take part in the research project	☐
7. I give consent for this focus group to be recorded	☐

Name of Participant: .....

Signature of Participant: .....

Date: .....

Name of Researcher:.....

Appendix 6: Phase I questioning protocol

Topic: British Asians in football – Current perceptions, opinions and attitudes in relation to football-related advertisements. Effect of these advertisements on engagement and participation processes for the community.

Hello, my name is Samandeep, but you can just call me Sam for short.

I am talking to you as an expert/practitioner/academic in the field of social justice and feel that your insights are important in this area of research.

This focus group forms part of a research project within the Centre of Trust, Peace and Social Relations and should take up to an hour. If discussions go on for longer I will ask the group if they would like to continue as I know everyone has different priorities this evening.

As you all know this focus group will be recorded with two voice recorders as seen in the middle of the table.

Unless you have any objections, I am going to start recording now.

Introduction:

1. I have sent you all a participation information sheet which details why this focus group is taking place, however I have provided you all with another one in front of you. If there's anything you would like to discuss please don't hesitate to ask me any questions
2. In terms my role, I will be asking a few questions and will let you openly discuss thoughts and feelings. If there are any points which need further elaboration, I will ask further questions. I will also be taking notes in this (*show notepad*). If requested, I will show you the notes I have made at the end of this focus group.
3. Again, I will be the only person transcribing this conversation. If you would like any of the transcripts please do not hesitate to get in touch and we can arrange a date for it to be sent.
4. This is for academic purposes, however if opportunities to deliver research in practice arises, I will contact you all to get your approval.
5. I would again like to tell you that this all participants will be entirely anonymous in the research.
6. Just to quickly run through participant rules:
    a. Try to speak one a time
    b. Be respectful of each other's discussions
    c. Feel free to engage in conversation – there are no wrong or right answers

I'm going to start now.

Person Introductions:

1. Tell me about yourself, your interests, your hobbies (*we'll start from left to right*)
2. What do you think about British Asians in today's society?
    a. Do you think they are accepted or rejected in society? (follow up question)
3. What's your thoughts on British Asians and sport?

Initiating conversations on British Asians and football

1. Do you think one's race or ethnicity effects whether they are included or excluded in football?
    a. If yes, why? (follow up question)
    b. If no, why? (follow up question
2. What's your take on British Asians and football?
    a. Tell me about your experiences of playing/watching football (follow up question)
        i. (if participants do engage) why?
        ii. (if participants do not engage) why?
3. What do you think the reasons are why British Asians aren't playing professionally?
    a. Have you, or anyone you know experienced any of the issues you talk about in regards to British Asians in football? (follow up question)
    b. Do you think there is a push to get more Asians in football? (follow up question)
4. In terms of the media, what's your thoughts on how it portrays British Asians?
    a. Do you think they have an influence to how people see British Asians? (follow up question)

I'm going to now show you three advertisements on YouTube. They will take up to 2 minutes each. Please make yourselves comfortable. I will also turn off the lights to make for better viewing.

5. What do you think about these advertisements?
6. Are these advertisements attractive to you?
    a. If yes, why (follow up question)
    b. If no, why (follow up question)
7. Do you think these advertisements are influential?
    a. If yes, how and why (follow up question)
    b. If no, why (follow up question)
8. When it comes to the sport being used, do you think these adverts have a significance on those who are perceived to be included?
9. Suppose you were an advertising consultant hired by Barclays for example, would you change anything?

Just to finalise this focus group with one more question

1. Is there anything else you would like to say about any of the topics we have discussed?

Again, I would like to thank you for your participation.

Just to run through it again:

All participants will be anonymous in the study, unless anything changes, of which I will be in contact with you all.

This is for research purposes solely, however if used in any other capacity, I will be in contact.

Transcriptions will be completed by myself. If you would like a copy of today's transcript, please get in touch and we can arrange a date for it to be sent to you.

I will stop the voice recorder now.

Appendix 7: Phase II questioning protocol

Topic: Advertising effectiveness – perceptions, opinions and attitudes in regards to sport-related advertisements. Effect of these advertisements on engagement and participation processes for the community.

Hello, my name is Samandeep, but you can just call me Sam for short.

I am talking to you as an expert/practitioner/academic in the field of social justice and feel that your insights are important in this area of research.

This focus group forms part of a research project within the Centre of Trust, Peace and Social Relations and should take up to 45 minutes. If discussions go on for longer I will ask the group if they would like to continue as I know everyone has different priorities this evening.

As you all know this focus group will be recorded with two voice recorders as seen in the middle of the table.

Unless you have any objections, I am going to start recording now.

Introduction:

1. I have sent you all a participation information sheet which details why this focus group is taking place, however I have provided you all with another one in front of you. If there's anything you would like to discuss please don't hesitate to ask me any questions
2. In terms my role, I will be asking a few questions and will let you openly discuss thoughts and feelings. If there are any points which need further elaboration, I will ask further questions. I will also be taking notes in this (*show notepad*). If requested, I will show you the notes I have made at the end of this focus group.
3. Again, I will be the only person transcribing this conversation. If you would like any of the transcripts please do not hesitate to get in touch and we can arrange a date for it to be sent.
4. This is for academic purposes, however if opportunities to deliver research in practice arises, I will contact you all to get your approval.
5. I would again like to tell you that this all participants will be entirely anonymous in the research.
6. Just to quickly run through participant rules:
    a. Try to speak one a time
    b. Be respectful of each other's discussions
    c. Feel free to engage in conversation – there are no wrong or right answers

I'm going to start now.

Person Introduction:

1. Starting from left to right, could you provide a quick introduction to who you are and what interests you?

Initiating conversations:

2. What do you think about the media?
    a. Is it factual?
    b. Where do you get your information from?
3. What about advertising in particular?
    a. Is it real?
    b. Is it manufactured?
4. What do you think are the main features which go into producing advertisements?
5. If at all, do you think advertisements have changed over the years?

I'm going to now show you three advertisements on YouTube. They will take up to 2 minutes each. Please make yourselves comfortable. I will also turn off the lights to make for better viewing

1. What do you think about these advertisements?
2. Are these advertisements attractive to you?
    a. If yes, why (follow up question)
    b. If no, why (follow up question)
3. Do you think these advertisements are influential?
    a. If yes, how and why (follow up question)
    b. If no, why (follow up question)
4. When it comes to the sport being used, do you think these adverts have a significance on those who are perceived to be included?
5. Suppose you were an advertising consultant hired by Barclays for example, would you change anything?

Just to finalise this focus group with one more question

1. Is there anything else you would like to say about any of the topics we have discussed?

Again, I would like to thank you for your participation.

Just to run through it again:

All participants will be anonymous in the study, unless anything changes, of which I will be in contact with you all.

This is for research purposes solely, however if used in any other capacity, I will be in contact.

Transcriptions will be completed by myself. If you would like a copy of today's transcript, please get in touch and we can arrange a date for it to be sent to you.

I will stop the voice recorder now.

Appendix 8: Phase III questioning protocol

Topic: British-Asians in football – wanting to find the current perceptions, opinions and attitudes of those working in sport.

Hello, my name is Samandeep, but you can just call me Sam for short.

I am talking to you as an expert/practitioner/academic in the field of social justice and feel that your insights and experiences are important in this area of research.

This interview forms part of a research project within the Centre of Trust, Peace and Social Relations and should take up to an hour. If the interview goes on for longer and you would like to finish please do not hesitate to let me know as I know you are very busy with other activities.

As you can see, this interview will be recorded with two voice recorders as seen in the middle of the table.

Unless you have any objections, I am going to start recording now.

Introduction:

1. I have been in contact with yourself/your representative and have sent participant information sheets which details why this interview is taking place. If you have not received this, I have placed one in front of you. If there's anything you would like to discuss please don't hesitate to ask me any questions.
2. This is what they call a semi-structured interview where I have some questions and topic in front of me but if particular areas of interest pop up, I may ask further questions. I have also brought along a notepad to jot down any notes (show notepad). If requested, I will show you the notes I have made at the end of this interview.
3. Again, I will be the only person transcribing this conversation. If you would like the transcript please do not hesitate to get in touch and we can arrange a date for it to be sent.
4. This is for academic purposes, however if opportunities to deliver research in practice arises, I will contact you all to get your approval.
5. I would again like to tell you that your identity will appear anonymous in the research, however, please be aware that people may know who you are by your role and experiences, as there aren't many British-Asians doing what you do.
6. I will start the initial questions now.

Initial open-ended questions

1. What was your sporting experiences like growing up?
2. Tell me about how you got into sport?
3. What was it that made you enthusiastic about it?
4. When did you first start playing/enjoying football/sport?
    a. What, if any, other sports did you play?
5. Who, or what influenced you to start playing?
    a. Was there a particular player/person you looked up to
        i. If yes, why?
6. Do you have 1 particular memory or event where you knew you wanted to pursue a career in football/sport?

Intermediate questions

1. Describe your experiences of sport?
    a. When you first got into it?
    b. Did you play for a club, school or other recreational places?
2. What made you actually want to go and pursue sport?
3. Were there any barriers you had to overcome?
    a. If yes, what were these barriers?
    b. How did you manage to overcome these?
4. Did you find it difficult getting the opportunity to play/work in football/sport?
5. Being a British-Asian, did you experience any drawbacks or discrimination when engaging in football/sport?
    a. If yes, what happened?
    b. How did you react?
    c. Did it affect your relationship with sport/football?
6. Have you ever felt your culture, community or religion has been a barrier to you progressing in the game?
    a. If yes, could you describe an event where you felt your culture/community/religion affect you?
    b. What was the outcome?
7. Going onto a different angle, who has been the most helpful to you during your time in football/sport?
    a. How has he/she been helpful?
8. What do you think your best accomplishment is?
9. Talking from a wider angle, what do you think the problems are when it comes to getting more Asians into sport?
    a. Do you think there will be a change in the future?
    b. What's your thoughts on the policies trying to engage more Asians?
10. Sitting in the position you are now, what advice would you give to other Asians who are looking to pursue a career in football/sport?

Ending questions:

1. Thank you for your time again, is there anything you would like to talk about that you may have missed during this interview?
2. Is there anything else you think I should know to understand this topic better?
3. Finally, is there anything you would like to ask me?

Again, I would like to thank you for your participation in this interview. It is very much appreciated.

Just to run through the administration features again:

You will be anonymous in this study, unless anything changes, of which I will be in contact with you.

This is for research purposes only, however if used in any other capacity, say for a report, I will be in touch.

This interview will be transcribed by me. If you would like a copy, please let me know or get in contact and we can arrange a date for it to be sent to you.

I will stop the voice recorder now.

Appendix 9: Phase III participation information sheet

Study Title

British South-Asians (BSAs) in Advertisements – Underrepresentation of British South-Asian's within English Professional football

Invitation Paragraph

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully and don't be afraid to ask questions if anything you read is not clear or if you would like additional information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The primary purpose of this study is to assess BSA football inclusion/exclusion. It will look to discover what the key agents to exclusion are. Primarily, the purpose will be educational, however, if industry opportunities arise, the study will be published in industry-focused reports.

Why have I been invited?

You have been invited to take part in this study due to your association with British South-Asian participation within English football.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide. The researcher has briefly described the study but is available to answer any further questions. The researcher will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw at any given time, without providing a reason.

What will I have to do?

There are no specific requirements from you as a participant. The researcher will organise an interview time, date and location.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

We cannot promise the study will help you, but the information we get from this research will help increase the understanding of British South-Asian underrepresentation in English football.

Are there any disadvantages of taking part?

It could be that you are not comfortable talking about sensitive issues regarding your football participation.

What if there is a problem?

Content removed on data protection grounds

Will my participation remain confidential?

If you agree to take part, your name will not be recorded and information you provide will be totally anonymous throughout the analysis and results. Your responses will be used solely for the purpose of this project, eliminating any third-party involvement. All information provided will be safely secured in line with Coventry University Ethics policy (researcher can provide you the information if required); password protected and only accessed on Coventry University portal. Any hard copy information will be stored in a locked cabinet, within a locked office, accessed only by the researcher.

What will happen to the results of this research?

Likely outputs include academic publications and dissemination of findings to advertising organisations and various National Governing Bodies in sport. All published outcomes will be made available to you on request. You will not be identified in any report/publication unless you give your consent beforehand.

What happens now?

Content removed on data protection grounds

Appendix 10: Phase III participant informed consent sheet

British South-Asians (BSAs) in Advertisements – Underrepresentation of British South-Asian's within English Professional football

The primary purpose of this study is to assess your experiences of English football. With there being a lack of 'Asian' representation in contemporary adverts, this study looks to explore whether or not they influence decisions on participation and successful involvement. Primarily, the purpose will be educational, however, if industry opportunities arise, the study will be published in industry-focused reports.

	Please initial
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions	☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at anytime without giving a reason	☐
3. I understand that all the information I provide will be treated in confidence	☐
4. I understand that I also have the right to change my mind about participating in the study for a short period after the study has concluded (7 days)	☐
5. I agree for anonymised quotes to be used as part of the research project	☐
6. I agree to take part in the research project	☐
7. I give consent for this focus group to be recorded	☐

Name of Participant: .....

Signature of Participant: .....

Date: .....

Name of Researcher:.....

Appendix 11: Example of stored memos from Phase I

Below is an example of some of the memos the researcher produced from Phase I of the research. These memos were informed by the notes the researcher made during each focus group and his own personal thoughts. They were subsequently written up in Microsoft Word to ensure nothing was lost or misplaced. Being memos, there will be grammatical errors and misspelling of words.

Memo 1: Focus Group #1 (Phase I)

This was an eye opener of what to expect in future focus groups. From the notes I took you can see there was a massive indication that they recognised an evident lack of South Asians in football already. That was the most talked about area. Why? They felt stereotypes was probably the biggest issue. When asked there were two areas to consider – in-group and out-group dynamics. Stereotypes have been produced by the out-group but are finding their way into the in-group dynamic. Another area was speaking about the football gatekeepers. How are they influenced? The major couple from this was that the advertising representations influence them. The intergroup awareness was also discussed here. Lack of role models was a big one again. Also the experiences of racism and discrimination from participants in football and in mainstream society. One even talked about how he was beaten up when he played a recreational match.

Memo 8: Focus Group #1 (Phase I)

Participants clearly thought they were not represented at all in the football advertisements, but were represented in the cricket advertisements. Majority felt it was due to the fact that they were not recognised as a football community, thus not economically incentivised for the organisation.

Memo 14: Focus Group #2 (Phase I)

Some interesting findings from this focus group. There were a range of different participants and it was great to hear their own perspectives. What I found was that a lot of them knew about lack of Asians in football but were all perplexed about why it still occurs. Majority of participants discussed their experience with racism and discrimination in football, even though they were all 3rd generation BSA. That was a massive surprise. They all played different sports and experience it differently from a spectator point of view to actually competing.

Memo 16: Focus Group #2 (Phase I)

In terms of the response to the advertisements, they were mixed. Half of them naturally picked out the fact that there were no Asians in the football adverts and were in the cricket ads. For them it was particularly due to the cultural environment advertisers are brought up in – how can they know any different if all they know is what is they see on the field – so a lack of role models on the pitch equates to them missing the Asian inclusion. So in a way it's like a cycle because those who are parents especially are affected by this phenomenon. Refer back to diagram in book.

Memo 20: Focus Group #3 (Phase I)

The responses from this focus group were mixed. 1 participant spoke about growing up in a white neighbourhood and associating himself with them whilst the majority of other participants generally grew up in and around Asian neighbours and friends. The difference in understanding the dynamics was striking. Especially when they discussed their school experiences. One participant suggested he was ostracised by other Asians because he chose to hang around with them rather than with the Asians. He recalled being called a coconut all the time. What was also interesting to find out was how their sporting choices differed. This participant drew up a variety of sports being played. One was a football coach who had played hockey, cricket, tennis and even tried out for his local athletics team. The other was a massive boxing fan and still takes up amateur boxing when he has time. So for these participants their level of football engagement and participation was generally slim compared to that of other participants explored previously.

Memo 23: Focus Group #3 (Phase I)

In terms of their response to the advertisements it was generally all the same. They each picked out the fact that there was an Asian in the cricket advert but not any in the football-related adverts. For them this was simply due to the cultural stereotype of Asians being associated to cricket. What was interesting was when the topic moved to the environment in which the advertising agencies were accustomed to being in. Was it their fault they disregarded the Asian community because they're not really seen on-field so how can they expect to add them in? Not seen as a football community so it's a tough situation to be in for many of them. What was also highlighted was the fact that majority claimed they Asians like to drink alcohol so the myth of them not being associated with drinking because of other religious reasons was also evident. For 1, she claimed Asians are generally all grouped under 1 umbrella category – Muslims. And the associations, traditions and norms linked to Muslims have an effect on non-Muslims. This was another reason they claimed a lack of Asians make it into football.

Memo 26: Focus Group #3 (Phase I)

From my initial thoughts, I believe we are starting to hit saturation of data. I will re-examine after next focus group overview is correlated.

Memo 29: Focus Group #4 (Phase I)

This focus group generated very similar feedback from the other focus groups. 1 of the areas needed to be explored is the creation of role models in football. How can the advertisers use Asians if they are still not represented on the football field. So this correlation exists from the point of view of them. Also the fact that other sports should be explored and their representation of Asians. 1 participant mentioned using an analysis of American sports teams and how they are represented there.

Memo 30: Focus Group #4 (Phase I)

They also started to rate the advertising quality. This was a not surprising. Majority of them talked about the quality of the adverts were brilliant and what they expected. The only thing lacked was the use of specific identities and the use of stereotypes amongst the advertising remit. Why are Asians used in cricket. A lot of them found it was predictable that an Asian was going to be present in the cricket advert but not in the football advert. They also mentioned the fact that virtually all the football-related adverts on TV are all the same. They all feature the same race of people – white people. They mentioned other adverts such as gambling and pizza. This was something that was suggested as being an issue and the targeting of a specific group of pizza. 1 example which was given was the use of including families within the advertisements. Maybe it is a subconscious element to it.

Memo 33: Focus Group #4 (Phase I)

From my notes, it seems as though theoretical saturation has been achieved and nothing new has appeared from the data itself.

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